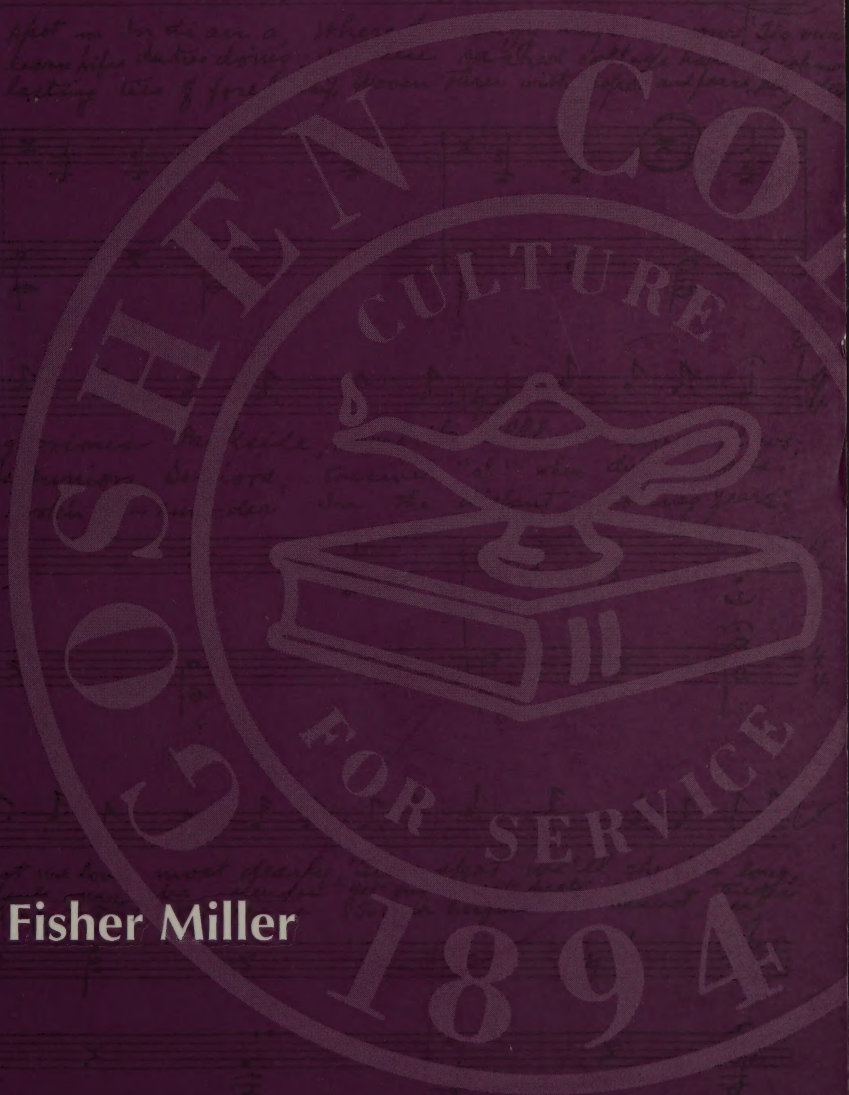


Culture for Service

A History of Goshen College

1894-1994



Susan Fisher Miller

CULTURE FOR SERVICE

A HISTORY OF GOSHEN COLLEGE
1894-1994



Susan Fisher Miller

Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana
1994

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A HISTORY OF GOSHEN COLLEGE

1894-1994

To
Peter,
Christopher
and
John William

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FOREWORD

Only an author who loves both Goshen College and the Mennonite Church could have written the pages which follow, a centennial history. She, her parents and grandparents are closely linked to both institutions. Susan Fisher Miller has provided a carefully researched book, meticulous in detail and judicious in its treatment of persons and issues.

She writes of the "creative tension" between church and college which is even implied by the college motto, "Culture for Service." A creative tension between faith and learning is as old as the second century. Church father Tertullian (c.155-c.220) asked, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" Creative tension is as contemporary as the February 1994 "impasse" between the Pope's efforts at accountability for right teaching of Catholic theology and the autonomy required by an American university as stated by President Edward A. Malloy of Notre Dame and others.

It is rare in the Protestant tradition for a college founded by a church to remain sufficiently close to its religious community after 100 years to have a recognizable relationship at all, let alone a creative tension. Readers should be reassured that church-college relationships are important enough in 1994 to provide an organizing theme for ten decades of Goshen College history.

Inasmuch as even a "creative tension" is uncomfortable for both churches and colleges, it is not surprising that colleges and churches in America have found ways to relax the tension. The dominant pattern is secularization of the college. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, writing in 1968, observed that "over the past century several hundred sectarian Protestant colleges have dropped their church ties and have become officially non-sectarian" (Jencks and Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*). The other way to relax the tension is to drop denominational ties for a broader, college-defined Christian identity. Wheaton (Illinois) and Taylor (Indiana) are examples of such colleges within the evangelical Protestant tradition.

Against the backdrop of separatist historical trends, Miller richly details the pain and creativity of the tension as it unfolded at Goshen College. Two strands of this history deserve particular mention when the reader looks for creativity within the tension. The patient, long-suffering response of President S.C. Yoder to a steady stream of criticism during his first years of service after the closing of the college in 1923-24, had a significant steady-effect. The second strand of history was the faithful response of Goshen College people to the service theme of Mennonite life in the aftermath of World War II. An interview with Atlee Beechy refers to the faculty recruits

of the 1940s as “socialized to think of service, church and education as fundamentally related.” This further played itself out in 1968 and following years with Goshen’s pioneering and now nationally recognized study-service term abroad. As Miller puts it, SST’s success was an “improbable wedding of Mennonite historical truth to . . . freethinking liberal education”.

The reader will also notice a number of critical turning points in the GC history. What if President Noah Byers had not given us the seminal motto “Culture for Service” in his 1903 inaugural address? What if Noah Oyer had not accepted President-elect S.C. Yoder’s invitation to become the Dean of Goshen College? Yoder declared that he would not come as president unless Oyer became Dean. It is hard to imagine Goshen’s survival without the teamwork of Yoder and Oyer during difficult times.

What if the faculty had not endured during the Depression years when they received IOU’s instead of paychecks? What if Dean Harold Bender had not synthesized the themes of Christian service, peace, community and discipleship and located them within Anabaptist history, and made them significant for American Protestantism and American democracy? What if President Ernest Miller had not succeeded in obtaining accreditation in 1941? What if President Paul Mininger and Provost Henry Weaver Jr. had not taken the risk of pioneering the Study Service Term? What if alumnus Charles Ainlay had not assisted three presidents in promoting positive community relationships through his leadership on the President’s Advisory Board?

What if President Lawrence Burkholder had not opened the way to the first undergraduate exchange program with China? What if the spouses of the pioneering presidents had not coped with the distortions of family life and provided emotional and even financial support? Many more turning points could and should be mentioned. These hinges of our history all importantly affect the Goshen College we enjoy today.

The centennial year 1994-95 is not only an occasion to celebrate the past but to anticipate the future. How will the creative tension and partnership between church and college find expression in the future? What follows is a blend of hope and prophecy. Let us accept the creativity of the tension and work in such a way that the church provides a place for the critical intelligence and aesthetic sensitivity nourished in academe. Let us pray that the college will continue to have a humble reverence for the Holy Scriptures and for the truth of God Who has met us in Jesus Christ and a love for the Mennonite Church. Let us dedicate ourselves as well to providing a place of spiritual welcome for all who seek for Truth.

In addition to the college’s strength in the service professions of medicine, nursing, social work and teaching, let us hope that both college and church will increasingly value art, music, drama, poetry, new forms of creative expression, and other disciplines included in our curriculum. Let us

make Goshen College a place where underrepresented students and non-traditional students find welcome and succeed in achieving their goals.

We anticipate that the Mennonite Board of Education and the Goshen College Board of Overseers will continue their important work of providing mutual accountability. Let us who work at Goshen College make it easier for the boards to persuade the Mennonite Church of the value of its educational enterprise and to appreciate the resource of its gifted sons and daughters and others who attend this college.

Should such a shared vision become reality, the next 100 years would not eliminate the “creative tension” between church and college but could increase the creativity and civilize the tension. Miller’s book is an invitation to cherish our past and imagine our future. We are indebted to her careful research, her love of the Mennonite Church and her affection for Goshen College.

Victor Stoltzfus, President
Goshen College



PREFACE

Shortly after beginning research for this book, I read the diary of Mennonite evangelist John S. Coffman. A great promoter of Mennonite higher education, Coffman nonetheless one February day in 1896 had penned of the youthful Elkhart Institute, "I feel more like praying over this situation than being elated."

The image of J.S. Coffman, caught between prayer and elation, came back to me as I worked on a centennial history of that fledgling Elkhart Institute and its successor, Goshen College. Often the work brought elation. Goshen's history, some of its family history, has engaged and moved me. Certain moments have reminded me of the film *Field of Dreams*, in which a farmer with an imaginative bent sees ghosts of long ago stumble blinking from the Iowa corn. During my life with the history, the ghosts could seem more substantial than present-day characters, and Goshen's original north campus could seem like hallowed ground.

At other moments prayer seemed more advisable than elation. Writing an institutional history requires attention to the unpredictable bounty of human experience, but also naggingly implies that an author will create order out of that abundance. In fact, the challenge of writing Goshen College's history resembles the mystery at the heart of the institution itself: discerning a balance between freedom and discipline.

That challenge has been considerably sweetened for me by the resource of an earlier history, John S. Umble's comprehensive *Goshen College, 1894-1954: A Venture in Christian Higher Education*, published in 1954. My intent in approaching the college's first sixty years has been to supplement, rather than supersede, Umble's treatment of those decades. Readers will likewise benefit from the simultaneous centennial publication of Rebecca Bontrager Horst's photographic history, whose images complement and enhance the story on the following pages.

The existence of John S. Umble's earlier history has allowed me a certain liberty in style, emphasis, and organization as I have examined anew the years 1894-1954. Some readers may discover with surprise, for instance, a full chapter devoted to the issues surrounding Goshen College's temporary closing in 1923. But to study in detail the encounters between academics and ecclesiastics in 1923, I believe, is to become better acquainted with a crucial relationship of the entire Goshen College century.

Events at Goshen College during the years following 1954, on the other hand, present different kinds of authorial choices. Fresher in people's memories, but not yet fixed in written histories or collective opinion, the stuff of recent history can appear unfinished. The next college historian

will enjoy a wider perspective on the last half of our century. In the meantime, I have elected, to draw generously, in addition to other sources, on the student newspaper, *The Goshen College Record*, a contemporary campus document whose context tends to be the fleeting moment, but whose selections and tone convey history in-the-making.

I have also been aware throughout this project that each person acquainted with Goshen College carries their particular, sometimes proprietary, image of its character and past. I have been fortunate to gather the impressions and insights from people whose experiences of Goshen College have been longer, more intimate, or simply different than mine. I count the interviews conducted with past presidents, alumni, current faculty and scholars of Mennonite history among the most valued experiences working on the book. While I have attempted to allow as broad a perspective as possible to inform this history, ultimately the book remains the product of one author's sensibility.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the generous assistance I have enjoyed as the product has taken shape. My foremost debt is to Professor John D. Roth, chair of the Centennial Sub-Committee on Publications and editor of this volume. Beyond the professional expertise supplied in research and textual matters, John Roth's collaborative spirit from beginning to end has helped fulfill for me his early-expressed wish that the Goshen history remain a joyous assignment. This book owes much to his astute judgment, his commitment to the project, and his steady encouragement.

I am also happy to acknowledge here Goshen College's financial support of the project, as well as to note a contribution by the Schowalter Foundation to the costs of publishing the history. Thanks go as well to the members of the Goshen College Centennial Planning Committee: J. Daniel Hess (Chair), Richard Gerig, Lois Bare, and John D. Yoder, under whose administrative oversight the history project proceeded. President Victor Stoltzfus graciously contributed the Foreword.

I am particularly grateful to the Centennial Sub-Committee on Publications, John D. Roth (Chair), John D. Yoder, Carl Kreider, Helen Alderfer, and Rebecca Bontrager Horst, who invited me to undertake the project and who remained involved in its development. Carl Kreider, Helen Alderfer, John S. Oyer, and Roy Umble gave close attention to the book in manuscript form, thereby saving me from many embarrassments.

Eric Yordy, my student assistant, conducted a great deal of Goshen legwork with thoroughness and unfailing good cheer. Other students assisting in the project have been Mark Schloneger and Maria Hershberger (appendices), Ryan Claassen (research), Chris Barrows, Stacy Vlasits (index) and Zelda Stoltzfus (bibliography). A former Goshen student, Steve Nolt, prepared in 1990 the comprehensive "Inventory of Source Materials on Goshen College," which pointed me in the right direction as I began research.

Gwen Miller of the college's Information Services has had the large assignment of designing the book's appearance, a task painstakingly and creatively executed.

Joe Springer, curator of the Mennonite Historical Library, cast his expert eye for detail on the final manuscript as it was prepared for publication. With the assistance of Janet Shoemaker and the staff of the Historical Library, Joe also made available valuable research materials, and served as an informal, perceptive advisor to my work.

In the Archives of the Mennonite Church, I have enjoyed assistance in locating resources, as well as a generous welcome, from Levi Miller, Director of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, Archivist Dennis Stoesz, Leonard Gross and Marilyn Voran. Patrick Quinn, Director of the Northwestern University Archives, was most helpful in locating archival materials pertaining to N.E. Byers' student years.

It is difficult to express adequately the degree to which my work on the Goshen College centennial history has also depended on my immediate and extended family and a wide circle of friends. My congregation, Evanston Mennonite Church, supplied the church office space where most of the manuscript was written. Richard and Karen Martin of that congregation supplied technical support throughout the project. Early in the project, Ruth Miller Roth and Lyn Schlabach Buschert provided childcare for my sons in Goshen; in Evanston, Elizabeth O'Keeffe and Leny Basa performed that service. My parents-in-law, William and Phyllis Miller, offered frequent support: caring for our children, discussing the project with me, and providing in their home a peaceful retreat where I have worked.

John and Pauline Fisher, my parents, deserve special mention for extraordinary assistance. They have devoted a great deal of their time in the past two years to this project, and have done so creatively and uncomplainingly. Our home and our children have benefited from their frequent presence, and my own equilibrium has frequently been restored by their encouragement in word and deed. At one crucial juncture, my father took on the task of checking facts and hunting down photographs. My parents have contributed immeasurably to this publication.

Finally, I wish to thank my husband, Lee, for the seriousness with which he took my commitment to the assignment, and for the sacrifices he made to help me carry it out. Only he can fully understand the adventure he undertook with me, through prayer and elation, in bringing this book to completion. Our three boys, Peter, Christopher, and John William, good-naturedly accepted the presence of "the book" in their lives. I dedicate it to them, in hopes they will learn the story of Goshen College as they grow.

Susan Fisher Miller
Evanston, Illinois



Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

CULTURE FOR SERVICE

Had the [Mennonite] church. . . cultivated the spirit of learning which her people originally possessed we might be a people famed for learning; and our congregations might number thousands where we now count only hundreds.

We [in Mennonite education] should permit nothing to prevent us from maintaining the high standard of Christian life that has been defended by the teachings of our Mennonite people through their whole history.

—J.S. Coffman, “The Spirit of Progress,” 1896

Early in 1994, Goshen College received students’ applications for a new merit scholarship, the President’s Leadership Award. The applicants for the award, prospective freshmen, had encountered a deceptively simple essay question. “The motto ‘Culture for Service’ has long represented education at Goshen College,” stated the application form. How, the question continued, would receiving this award “allow you to practice ‘Culture for Service’ in meeting your goals and plans in life?”¹ “Culture for Service”: one imagines the Leadership Award applicants chewing their pencils less over detailing their life’s ambition than in attempting to do justice to Goshen College’s motto.

Adopted by Goshen College’s faculty in 1904, “Culture for Service” has proven a felicitous turn of phrase. College historian John S. Umble attributed the motto’s durability to its dynamism. “Culture for Service,” Umble wrote gracefully in *Goshen College, 1894-1954*, “is capable of constant enrich-

ment by the connotations it inspires.”² Indeed, for nearly a century, the motto has been both a witness and a beacon to the unfolding history of Goshen College.

The origins of “Culture for Service” can be traced to the inaugural address of Goshen College’s first president, Noah E. Byers. Byers surely had in mind work begun at Goshen College’s predecessor, the Elkhart Institute, where he had been principal for five years. At the same time, Byers’ words heralded a new era of scholarship, high Christian ideals, and energetic progress. The twenty-year period at Goshen College between 1903 and 1923 contained much joy, not a few growing pains, and a notably fierce loyalty from insiders to the institution itself, motto included. By the early 1920s, however, some concerned Mennonite constituents were increasingly convinced that the twin ideals, “Culture” and “Service,” were more incompatible than complementary. That perception, and the measure of reality it represented, led to a year-long suspension of activity at Goshen College, in 1923-1924.

In the difficult aftermath of Goshen’s 1923 closing, the campus community’s sacrificial steadfastness, amidst economic and other hardships, made possible what could be called Goshen’s recovery of Culture *through* Service, notably the service of highly-committed faculty and staff. And in more recent decades, events have continued to enrich the meaning of the motto. In 1941, for example, the words “Culture for Service,” waving jauntily on students’ homemade banners, celebrated the formal accreditation of the college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In 1968, “Culture for Service” acquired even wider dimensions when Goshen College adopted an international requirement for General Education, the Study-Service Trimester.

Trailing nearly a century’s history behind it, the motto “Culture for Service” is every bit as dynamic in 1994 as it was in 1954 or 1904. For nearly a century, in a kind of inherent dynamism, Culture and Service have been suspended opposite each other in perpetual tension, in perpetual balance. The motto’s broad implications praised by John Umble in 1954, in fact, had only a decade earlier so troubled some of the college’s associates that they argued vigorously to change the wording.

In 1943, Mennonite Board of Education president C.F. Yake proposed to President Ernest E. Miller and the Goshen faculty a change of the college motto to “Christian Culture for Christian Service.” Some critics of the college’s motto believed that the word “culture” was too general; taken on its own, it could connote a purely secular ideal as easily as it could Christian culture. Furthermore, to make culture a priority was potentially to neglect evangelism. Finally, some remembered disapprovingly that “Culture for Service” had been coined by “a man who broke with the Mennonite Church”—President Byers, who had left Goshen in 1913 to become dean

of Bluffton College, where he subsequently united with the General Conference Mennonite Church.³

At a meeting held October 30, 1943, Board President Yake, Goshen College President Ernest E. Miller, the college alumni executive committee, and the college faculty gave attention to Yake's proposal. After cordial discussion, it became clear that faculty and alumni opposed a change. They cited the motto's implicit Christian context, and the significance for past pupils of the original version. Most to the point, they noted, "Culture for Service" "is beautiful and has been satisfactory." The group concluded that "for the time being the problem of changing the motto should be given secondary consideration, while problems of primary importance should be given first consideration in future meetings of the faculty."⁴

A change in 1943 to a more explicit wording would have eliminated the motto's inherent tensions, no doubt. Had the motto been changed, those students attempting in 1994 to write the President's Leadership Award essay might have had an easier time commenting on its implications. But a dynamic college motto has seemed "beautiful and satisfactory" precisely because Goshen College itself has been dynamic. Echoes of Goshen College's entire century insist that a complete vision of Mennonite education will face not only the creative tension, but also the nagging ambiguity implied by the college motto, "Culture for Service." Attempting in their own phrases to capture the dynamic relationship among culture, service, and Christian education, the young President's Leadership Award essay-writers of 1994 had joined in the historic mission of Goshen College.

The first significant expression of that mission actually preceded the institution named Goshen College by seven years. On the evening of February 11, 1896, more than eight hundred people travelled over rutted roads in inclement weather to Elkhart, Indiana, to hear a Mennonite evangelist named John S. Coffman officially open the new Elkhart Institute on Prairie Street. Though the Institute had operated in various downtown Elkhart classrooms since 1894, the handsome building and festive program marked a fresh start.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the American Mennonite Church was itself making a kind of fresh start. Change had come to the church in the years following the Civil War. Enterprising Mennonite individuals and particularly energetic congregations, influentially aggressive Protestant revival movements, and a new measure of acculturation by Mennonites to American habits, such as exchanging German for English, all opened the way for Mennonite congregations to experience spiritual renewal and to organize church activities such as Sunday school and mission outreach. The momentum of activity reached an exciting tumult in the 1890s. But not all Mennonites greeted the developments with equal enthusiasm. A proposal for a mission or educational project might meet with suspicion, caution, or

outright rejection in certain communities, or among certain factions of a congregation.

Historians have emphasized different aspects of the late nineteenth century increase in spiritual life and energies among American (Old) Mennonites. Writers who were products of the period, or only one or two generations removed from it, approved the church's emergence from what they viewed as a moribund formalism. These writers tended to call the change in activity an "awakening" or even the Mennonite Church's "Great Awakening." Historian Theron Schlabach more recently argued that, for all its innovation, the so-called Mennonite awakening borrowed generously, and sometimes heedlessly, from contemporary American Protestant movements, at times generating projects more for the perceived virtue of the church engaged in "active work" than out of a considered acceptance of a new direction. In Schlabach's view, this new emphasis on busy activity elbowed aside a nineteenth-century Mennonite community ethos rooted in "humility-theology" that, mistaken for lethargy, in fact possessed a distinctive, nonconformist faithfulness. Writing in the late 1970s, Schlabach proposed that the swell in Mennonite activity at the end of the nineteenth century would more accurately be called a "quickenings"—an "increase in tempo," and not necessarily the miraculous summons to life of a dead or sleeping church.⁵

In any case, the church in the second half of the nineteenth century, formerly a loose fellowship of discrete, and, in some cases, isolated congregations, increasingly thought of itself as a unified denomination. Crucial in fostering unity among American Mennonites were two men: John F. Funk, who had established a Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart in 1867 and served as an itinerant preacher among widespread congregations, and John S. Coffman, who in 1879 joined Funk's publishing concern in Elkhart and in 1881 began holding the first Mennonite evangelizing meetings in the United States and Canada.

For many Mennonites, John S. Coffman—not yet fifty in 1896—embodied the renewed church. He was Funk's publishing associate. He was a pioneer Mennonite evangelist. His personal fostering of the Mennonite Sunday School movement and Young People's Meetings made him the church's best known and most effective ambassador to Mennonite youth. He had helped compile an English-language hymnal. And he had contact with the infant Mennonite Home Mission in Chicago. Coffman's wide friendship with Mennonite families, congregations, and leading thinkers had convinced him that an Elkhart Institute was not only desirable, but inevitable. With other local Mennonites in 1894, Coffman had debated the formation of the Elkhart Institute as a private or church venture. That fall, the group had encouraged Dr. Henry A. Mumaw, a physician with business and educational experience, and a member of Elkhart's Prairie Street con-

gregation, to begin the school on his own. The Institute had since incorporated, with largely Mennonite shareholders. In 1896, Coffman sat on its Board of Directors. He took a keen personal interest in details of the Institute's life. Earlier on the day of the February 11 opening program, in fact, Coffman, the main speaker of the evening, had stopped by the Institute and helped workmen set up chairs.

But preparing the address, which he entitled "The Spirit of Progress," had caused Coffman concern. The title was provocative. The word "progress," after all, furnished at least part of America's rationale for the current decade of reckless momentum. For many, it implied a socially optimistic belief in the imminent dawn of world peace, a development Coffman heralded in the speech. And Coffman's title naturally called to mind "A Century of Progress," a World's Fair Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 that had been uneasily regarded, occasionally prohibited, and, in a few interesting cases, attended, by Mennonites.⁶ For a Mennonite leader in 1896 to welcome progress publicly by name, rather than rotely dismiss it, required fortitude.

"It has been a great trial to me to . . . lecture on a subject like this, on a time like that proposed," Coffman wrote in his diary February 3. For days, Coffman left home early to draft and revise his lecture. Less than a week before the event, Coffman had written in discouragement, "I find it a much greater task than I knew or expected. . . . I am getting quite dissatisfied with my effort." On the weekend before the Tuesday program, the usually self-denying preacher bought himself a new suit of clothes—and a prescription remedy he hoped would calm a "weak stomach."⁷

Whatever misgivings Coffman carried with him into the Institute's Chapel Hall, "The Spirit of Progress" riveted his audience. Forty years later, reminiscing about the opening exercises, minister Jonas S. Hartzler, one of the Institute's early instructors, insisted that the idealism "for the cause of education and the cause of Christ" fired by Coffman in students and faculty that evening overshadowed even their enthusiasm for the new classrooms and equipment on display. Elizabeth Gingrich, the Canadian student who typed Coffman's speech for him, saved the manuscript as a memento long after Elkhart Institute had become Goshen College.⁸ Given Coffman's difficult accomplishment—wooing conservative skeptics to the cause of Mennonite education while cautioning over-eager progressives—the address must be seen as a rhetorical triumph. Frequently reproduced as an essay, the speech's influential life following 1896 attested that "The Spirit of Progress" contained a message broader than its original occasion.⁹

In February 1896, Coffman's audience must have been struck by the timeliness of Coffman's speech—and by the significance Coffman claimed for their times. His nonchalant references to current world events as he neared the close—references to "the recent war threat with regard to the

Venezuelan question,” to “bleeding Armenia,” and to a petition filed only two weeks earlier to protest military instruction in the public schools—gave his speech contemporaneity and an air of modern sophistication. But his listeners must have been even more deeply impressed by the prominence Coffman gave to the Mennonite Church’s current affairs in the grand survey of human progress that made up the bulk of his talk.

In Coffman’s scheme, the opening exercises of the Elkhart Institute marked a historic watershed. They were the continuation and culmination of crucial developments in faith and learning of universal scope. The milestones in Coffman’s address ranged from the Creation, through Christ’s birth in Bethlehem, through the noble work of the Waldensians and other Christian dissenters, through the Renaissance, Reformation, and birth of Anabaptism, through a “dormant” period in American Mennonite history, right up to the church’s present opportunity. If any listeners had earlier missed the portent of the evening, they heard clearly when Coffman proclaimed that:

The Elkhart Institute . . . is after all an evidence of the spirit of progress among us in the line of education. This is but a welling up of a pent up stream that could no longer be suppressed. Disadvantages, opposition, fears of failure, all had to give way before the force that was driven into action by the deep consciousness of duty to God, to the church, to our young people, and to the cause of Christ in general.¹⁰

As portrayed by Coffman, a late-nineteenth-century school venture took on the import of an epochal development. His confident appraisal put the Elkhart, Indiana of 1896 on a par with Eden, Bethlehem, Wittenberg, and Zurich.

Beyond aligning the school with great historical developments, perhaps Coffman’s boldest stroke was to invoke, favorably, the climate of change prevailing in the Mennonite Church. He explicitly made the current dynamic atmosphere of the Mennonite Church the context for the birth of the Elkhart Institute, declaring to his listeners, “Here we are at an epoch that marks a transition period in our beloved brotherhood. It is really a final crossing over of a large body of our people. . . .” Education would take its place with Funk’s church-wide magazine, *The Herald of Truth*, or the Chicago Home Mission, as benevolent, productive work of the awakened Mennonite Church—as no less than a mission in its own right. To affirm “The Spirit of Progress” on February 11, 1896, was to assent not only to the growth of an individual school, but to the busy activities of the entire Mennonite progressive enterprise.

If “The Spirit of Progress” spoke meaningfully to its immediate hearers, it also seemed to intimate what the Elkhart Institute might become.

Uncanny from today's point of view is Coffman's apprehension of ideas that, in fact, became touchstones of Goshen College's development. In the address, Coffman expressed a frank appreciation for broad scholarship. He cast an eye toward Anabaptist models. He gave particular importance to international affairs and to peace. Finally, he offered the remarkable impression that a modest Mennonite college, operating on principles counter to those of the world, might come to make an imprint on it nonetheless. When Coffman contrasted Renaissance Italy, whose religion "had lost its evangelical elements of service and sacrifice," with a coming age of Mennonite learning dedicated to "the culture of a consecrated heart and a self-sacrificing spirit," he anticipated the educational ideal Noah Byers would lift up in 1904: Culture wed to Service.

But Coffman also understood the delicacy of that union. On the eve of the February 11 dedication, he had confided to his diary sentiments more melancholy than triumphant:

I feel more like praying over this situation than being elated. I do feel elated that we have succeeded in getting a school under the control of the church, but I feel that so [sic] great care must be exercised that it will be difficult to keep it in the line of our church work. May God be our director first and then our helper.

In the week preceding February 11, Coffman had advised his own children (to no avail, it might be noted!) against attending the Institute's literary society meeting, suggesting they choose a less frivolous activity.

Coffman's personal ambivalence became his speech's rhetorical advantage. He also considered his broader audience. In his evangelical work he had encountered the misgivings of Mennonite parents whose bright and restless sons and daughters had left home to pursue advanced training. Greater yet, Coffman knew, would be the challenge of overcoming distrust of a church school among Mennonites who had no direct experience of higher education, for whom nonconformity automatically disallowed advanced study, and to whom, in their not inconsiderable native wisdom, "culture" in some of its affected forms could appear as so much foolery. "The Spirit of Progress" plainly acknowledged the perils awaiting Mennonite higher education. Some historical "progress," Coffman granted early in the address, had moved in a bad direction. He reserved his most dramatic language for a suspenseful passage envisioning, not the raptures of learning, but caution. "What will be the result of this transition?" Coffman asked,

We fear and tremble as we think of what might be. Let us never say, there is no danger! Only the true spirit of progress given, and directed, and kept by the power of God will form a pavilion round about us in which we can dwell in safety from the encroachments

of popular opinion and worldly aspirations that will come dashing against us with the fury of a sweeping cyclone.

Given Coffman's own prayerful reservations, this cautionary aside must have been spoken with earnest conviction. In any case, Coffman's evocation of the furious cyclone of worldliness allowed him to vent the Church's collective uncertainties about education, and thus to banish them—at least within the imaginative dimensions of his talk. Having addressed the skeptics, the speech proceeded past fear and trembling to conclude in confidence.

In the end, "The Spirit of Progress" asserted that the challenge of a Mennonite school was not to eschew the world's models, but to transform them. Cleaving to true Bible standards would preserve the school for the church. That idea, introduced near the close of the lecture, marked a return to Coffman's thesis, lending "The Spirit of Progress" the integrity of a resolved private debate:

We must be true as steel. We are in an age when ease, laughter, entertainment, and pleasure are considered culture. This is the highest aim of multitudes. The culture of a consecrated heart and a self-sacrificing spirit are by too many considered out of date. When from this position we take a step downward we find ourselves in a moral stratum where sin, and darkness, and death reign. . . . We might do well to adopt, at this late day, the old Waldensian watchword *Lux lucet in tenebris*. "Let light shine into the darkness."

The key definition here was "culture," a red flag, as surely as was "progress," to those who equated the pursuit of culture with social climbing, pride, or godless humanism. Coffman's effort to distinguish Elkhart Institute's culture from that of other educational arenas, even Christian ones, survived its initial hearing. It cast its light on Goshen College's eventual self-understanding as peculiar, in a positive way: set apart, held to a special standard. Significantly, Coffman's warnings about the pitfalls of education focused on spiritual failings. He preached against dishonesty, profanity, pride, hate, revenge, and worldly aspiration.¹¹ According to Coffman, the burden for maintaining these standards did not fall onto the world, though it might indeed threaten to jar the foundations, but onto the individuals within the institution, who must cultivate their own inner graces.

In the most subtle way, Coffman's speech also quietly warned against the traps within Christian, even Mennonite, culture. These dangers included, historically, the "cloak of ecclesiasticism" that had shrouded the true light in the Dark Ages. As an instance in his own day, Coffman cited the falling standards he observed in many American denominations. Finally, he warned of the potential snare, at a school even as well-intentioned as the Elkhart

Institute, of teaching biblical precepts merely as “denominational peculiarities,” rather than as “the highest principles.”

Here Coffman again showed himself to be prophetic. For when he insisted, near the close of “The Spirit of Progress,” that the traditional Mennonite doctrines of integrity, temperance, humility, and charity be taught at Elkhart, despite the fact that “many good people claim they can never be maintained in an institution of learning,” Coffman’s appeal to the skeptical “good people” of his own time becomes clear. And indeed the need to reaffirm this connection was to become a constant challenge to the Goshen College administration and faculty throughout the decades.

In his final words, Coffman shifted attention away from the theoretical pitfalls and safeguards of Mennonite education to his immediate setting: the brilliantly illuminated new home of the Elkhart Institute, its eager students, faculty, and supporters. As if compelled by his own imagination, he offered his audience in conclusion a portrait not of the rough and unformed youth entering the institution, but of departing graduates, alumni prepared to serve:

... we are thrilled with pleasure as we paint on our mental vision the beautiful picture of a multitude of young men and women going out from this institution, the mind stored with knowledge, trained to make the best use of all their faculties, possessed of a will to do right that will acknowledge no defeat, armed with a character that will never shrink from maintaining true principles, a trust that relies solely on the favor of God for success.

Three years later, John S. Coffman was dead, a victim of cancer at the age of fifty. Already in 1896 the text of “The Spirit of Progress” had been published serially in the *Young People’s Paper*, a literary periodical published by Funk’s company in Elkhart which encouraged education. But Coffman’s departure from the actual scene in 1899, and the aura conferred by his early death, gave independent life to the words of “The Spirit of Progress.” In 1903, for example, Menno S. Steiner included the full text of the speech in *John S. Coffman, Mennonite Evangelist*, an appreciative biography that appeared just as the Elkhart Institute was becoming Goshen College.¹² Two years later, the 1905 staff of the new Goshen College annual, *The Reflector*, dedicated their yearbook to Coffman, transferring his founding affiliation with the Elkhart Institute to the successor school at Goshen. In the following years, commemorative speeches at Goshen College regularly mentioned the address.

By 1918, minister John Ellsworth Hartzler, having prematurely vacated his Goshen presidency in the face of a financial crisis and ideological struggles, ruefully compared his perceived demise to J.S. Coffman’s, viewing both as sacrifices for the cause of education.¹³ And less than a de-

cade later, "The Spirit of Progress" and its author were championed by the editors of *The Christian Exponent*, an unofficial Mennonite bi-weekly publication begun in 1924 following Goshen College's temporary closing. The *Exponent* reprinted the speech in two issues, only to print in following issues the agitated responses of George R. Brunk I, who claimed Coffman for the conservatives.¹⁴

Thus, in its actual delivery and in the hands of its various audiences, J.S. Coffman's "Spirit of Progress" laid a large part of the foundation of today's Goshen College. Coffman envisioned Mennonite higher education as a rejuvenating tonic for the denomination; but he also recognized that education could weaken the brotherhood. In July 1894, shortly before the Elkhart Institute first opened its doors, Coffman had responded to a letter from his young friend Steiner who was discouraged by the drum of objections to the progressive work centered in the Midwest, coming primarily from church members in the east and west. Yes, Coffman acknowledged to his friend, some of the critics were overly negative. "But," Coffman significantly added,

that fearful, conservative disposition in the church is needed. We need the East and the East needs the West. Neither could get on well without the other. Their [sic] obstinate opposition to schools can only be for a time, and a *short time*, but it may serve to put the school work on a health[y] basis. . . .¹⁵

The "healthy basis" for Mennonite education Coffman wrote about to Steiner, and called for at the Elkhart opening exercises, would be an intimate exchange between college and church—something akin to the kind of vigorous, free, and good-humored discourse found around an extended family's table—which would allow learning to revitalize the community of believers, even while the community cultivated Mennonite traditions and standards in the college.

Not that Coffman expected perfect harmony when church and college came to define Mennonite traditions and standards. What John S. Coffman promised for Mennonite education in "The Spirit of Progress" were the high and low points of any family discussion. His speech did not present a formula so much as it attempted to present a number of forces held in exciting tension. He warned of secular allurements, but also insisted that Mennonite faith and learning were compatible. Finally, as would the framers of the President's Leadership Award essay question nearly one hundred years later, Coffman implied paradoxically that a school's richest asset and hallmark would always be its future alumni, the "beautiful . . . multitude of young men and women" preparing, by definition, to leave schoolmasters and classrooms behind.



Chapter Two

BEGINNINGS

ELKHART INSTITUTE AND GOSHEN COLLEGE 1894-1913

*Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.*
—Tennyson, "The Flower Sermon"

*When I think of education I get into my mind these
two words, culture and service. . . .*
—Noah E. Byers, 1902

*Goshen College ever singing,
To our motto we'll be true,
Honor to our masters bringing
Alma Mater we love you.*
—M.E. Miller, 1911

Goshen College in the autumn of 1894 was a school longing to be born. Had Dr. Henry A. Mumaw not opened the doors of the Shiloh Field Hall on September 21 to announce, to the four pupils present, the "Elkhart Institute of Science, Industry, and the Arts," one feels that Goshen College would have somehow invented itself.

Mennonite history and demography in 1894 suggested that the denomination's first college must appear soon, and that Elkhart would be its logical venue. In the 1890s, Elkhart was the hub of the expanding Mennonite Church. John F. Funk, a Pennsylvanian, in 1867 had come to Elkhart after working for ten years in the lumber business in Chicago. He established in Elkhart the Mennonite Publishing Company, continuing to publish there *The Herald of Truth* (and its German version, *Der Herold der Wahrheit*), a Mennonite church paper he had begun in Chicago in 1864. The *Herald* linked disparate Mennonite communities by providing family news, introduced them to the literature of American Protestantism, and focused discussions of Mennonite issues which Funk deemed of common interest. Funk's company also published Sunday school materials, printed important historical texts like *The Martyrs Mirror* and *The Complete Works of Menno Simons*, and produced household items ranging from devotional pamphlets to calendars. Through the pages of the *Herald* and in his other printed materials, Funk had cautiously promoted progressive Mennonite projects.

When Funk arrived in Elkhart in 1867, there was a sizable Mennonite settlement in Elkhart County but no Mennonite church in the city of Elkhart. He organized a Mennonite church, served as its minister (he had been ordained in Illinois in 1865), and promoted Sunday schools in a number of Mennonite congregations of northern Indiana. In 1871, the Elkhart group began meeting in a new meetinghouse that had been constructed on Prairie Street in Elkhart's Pleasant Point Addition. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, Funk introduced to the Prairie Street congregation innovations such as special training for Sunday school teachers, children's meetings, and Bible meetings created especially for the congregation's young people. Funk's city church was "decades ahead of the country Mennonite congregations" of Elkhart County.¹

John F. Funk's Mennonite Publishing Company had also attracted a coterie of intelligent young people to Elkhart. Between 1880 and 1900, the roster of bright assistants gathered around Funk included such budding church leaders as John S. Coffman, John Horsch, Menno S. Steiner, Aaron C. and Abram B. Kolb, and George L. Bender. Their concentration in Elkhart generated new ideas in turn. Horsch wrote on Anabaptist history. Steiner promoted benevolent and missionary work. Coffman, eventually an associate editor for Funk, served as the Church's first itinerant revival preacher from his base in Elkhart.

Education, in a general sense, was the common denominator of these projects clustered around Funk's Elkhart publishing enterprise. Sunday schools, naturally, existed for the purpose of Bible instruction, as did Bible conferences. And by their very nature, John F. Funk's printed materials promoted literacy. But even more importantly, Funk's activities reflected a desire to instruct far-flung Mennonites on various topics and to create a central

exchange of news and ideas. The Anabaptist material he published recovered for the Church neglected lessons in Mennonite history. Evangelism, whether directed toward Mennonite congregations or practiced in the mission field, was fundamentally a rhetorical and pedagogical activity. Mission workers typically organized classes or schools that would provide the unfortunate with basic education. And the activists for the various Mennonite projects—virtually none of them lacking some exposure to learning—recognized education as fundamental to their movement. “When He who was ‘a teacher come from God’ gave His great command ‘Go ye therefore and teach all nations,’” stated a volume of *The Christian Worker’s Manual*, “teaching was made the chief work of the Church.”² The fruits of the Mennonite turn-of-the-century burst of activity were instruction, history, promotion of the Gospel, and personal regeneration—all activities rooted in an impulse to educate.³

One influence on Mennonites’ alertness to education in the 1890s was the enlivened interest of their fellow Americans in change and progress. In 1893, for example, a small number of Mennonites had visited the “Century of Progress” Columbian Exposition, the World’s Fair held at Chicago, an extravagant civic installation which paid tribute to human industry and advancement on a colossal scale. The 1893 World’s Fair, in the words of historian James Juhnke, “marked the watershed between a simpler, agrarian-commercial past and a complex, urban-industrial future. As Americans of all kinds responded to the event in Chicago, they revealed who they were and were becoming.”⁴ At the same time, more Mennonites and Amish-Mennonites were enrolling in public secondary schools. With other Americans, these few identified education as the key to personal, social, and professional advancement. In turn-of-the-century America, education could appear synonymous with progress.

Educators, stage lecturers, successful pupils, and the popular press tended to elevate education to their public as a mystic grail of unlimited powers. In fact, the atmosphere surrounding nineteenth century higher education contained principles one might best call chivalric. In the first place, the scholar was depicted embarking on a solitary, even perilous search—a Quest—for Truth. The responsibility for genuine fulfillment of the search ultimately rested on the individual. The quest for knowledge might, at least in theory, be as plausibly undertaken by the serious plow boy as by the privileged idler; the results depended on a pupil’s application and desire. Second, the educational quest was viewed as demanding dedication and refinement, as a steadfast cultivation of ineffable values like “nobility,” the “higher powers,” and “full manhood and womanhood.” Finally, the educational code of honor of a century ago required liege service and loyalty to one’s *alma mater* of a quality imperfectly duplicated or understood today. In this ennobling, gallant vein, public high schools beckoned ambitious

young people to take up advanced study. The decision to continue school beyond the primary grades meant the acquisition of school clothing and new textbooks—small matters in themselves, but tokens of special status. American towns at the turn of the century invested their high school graduation exercises with the grave import of a community rite of passage. The pomp and oratory accompanying these public occasions in turn enhanced education's mythic allure.⁵ Frequently, the meaning of education itself became the subject of graduates' speeches.

By the end of the nineteenth century, some Mennonites and Amish-Mennonites caught the optimistic, chivalric spirit of American higher education. One of them, Sanford Calvin Yoder, in 1901 was president of his senior class at Clarion High School, Wright County, Iowa. "The use of education is but the perfection of human happiness," declaimed Yoder at his class's graduation ceremonies. "It adapts the agencies of Nature to the needs of life. It fashions the implements for gathering the harvest home. It fills the vaulted sky with a melody at which the angels wonder and admire. If we then would be happy let us begin at once to use our education." The deliverer of these orotund lines drew notice in Dayton Township as the first child born to Amish parents to graduate from high school west of the Mississippi River.⁶ None of his subsequent educational achievements, S.C. Yoder recorded later, equaled in emotional fulfillment that rural Iowa high school graduation, the day "when our group joined the long line of knights-errant and Sir Galahads that were turned loose upon the world to bring it under control."⁷

Devotion to the same quest animated the young C. Henry Smith's account of leaving home in Metamora, Illinois, to join the faculty of the Elkhart Institute in the autumn of 1898. Smith set out on a clear September morning to cover the two hundred and forty miles to Elkhart on his bicycle, a decision which, Smith later recalled, "assumed in my mind somewhat the proportions of an unusual adventure." Smith's salary, he had been informed, would be forty-five dollars a month—fifty dollars less per month than the Institute had paid his predecessor. Undeterred, Smith pedaled off from his father's farm toward Eureka, dodging dogs along the country roads, owning no map, trusting the railroad to lead him eastward to Indiana. In Smith's view, teaching English, Latin, and a host of other subjects to students at Elkhart "would be both enjoyable and otherwise profitable to me, though unremunerative. . . . I faced the future with the enthusiasm born of hope and youthful confidence."⁸

Certain influential ministers in the stirring Mennonite Church at late century had confidence in education, too. In eastern Ohio, Christian Z. Yoder helped establish the first Sunday school at the Oak Grove Church in 1871. Though he had not received formal secondary training, C.Z. Yoder as an adult welcomed educational opportunities. He made a point of visit-

ing colleges when travelling, and exhibited an inquisitive interest in "the various evidences of American progress," according to the historian of the Oak Grove congregation, James O. Lehman. Yoder's friendly view of education in the 1880s and 1890s encouraged a significant number of the unusually vigorous young people found in that congregation to seek advanced study.⁹

Not a few ministers had trained as schoolteachers. In northern Indiana around 1890, ministers John F. Funk, Daniel J. Johns, J.S. Hartzler, Jacob K. Bixler, Daniel D. Miller, and J.S. Coffman were all current or former teachers. Coffman took a special interest in the intelligent, ambitious young people he encountered on evangelistic tours who were prepared to venture among non-Mennonites in order to obtain higher education. One up-and-coming young man who almost got away was a widowed Missouri superintendent of schools, Daniel Kauffman. Kauffman had graduated with a "Principal of Pedagogics" degree from the Normal School at Missouri State University at Columbia. He taught fourteen years in Missouri schools, serving from 1887 to 1890 as County Commissioner (superintendent of schools) for Morgan County. Kauffman, photographed in this period as a handsome figure with a gleaming watch chain and handlebar mustache, was planning to help establish the Garden City College and Business Institute and had just been nominated by the Republican party for the office of circuit clerk and recorder of Morgan County. But in October 1890, his conversion during a series of revival sermons by evangelist Coffman in the Mt. Zion Church redirected Kauffman's energies into church work.¹⁰

Though Daniel Kauffman was saved to the church, many promising young people fulfilled their educational yearnings at the cost of their Mennonite affiliation. As J.S. Hartzler recalled some thirty-five years later, "The boys had the education, but other denominations had the boys."¹¹ In a period of bustling Mennonite enterprise, J.S. Coffman viewed that exchange as tragic and unnecessary. From his revival meetings throughout the U.S. and Canada in the 1880s and early 1890s, Coffman carried back to Elkhart the conviction that Mennonite young people needed a school of their own. Coffman centered his public argument for a Mennonite school on the evangelical desire to preserve Mennonite young men and women in the faith of their parents. A number of local ministers and Prairie Street Church members joined Coffman in promoting the idea that, since the church's youth were increasingly likely to seek higher education somewhere, it behooved the church to provide them the option of a Mennonite institute of learning. Yet promoting higher education as a conservative tool had an undeniable circular quality about it that disturbed church members, no matter what their level of educational sophistication. If a Mennonite institute of learning did succeed in conserving young people for the church, what then? The impact of higher education remained largely unmeasured

among Mennonites, except in the anecdotal evidence of young people lured away from the church simply out of their desire to attend college.

To persuade Mennonites in 1894 to sponsor an institute thus required diplomatic skill. In the circumspect explorations of the subject among the Elkhart brethren, and especially as that group tested the idea of an institute in wider Mennonite circles, Coffman seems to have stressed the practical, strategical need to confront students' migrations to other churches. But one must assume that J.S. Coffman in this period also held the more humanistic views about education's personal satisfactions which appeared plainly a few years later in his 1896 address, "The Spirit of Progress." In that speech, he acknowledged the personal growth one could attain through education, a private stimulation gained through the study of nature, history, literature, and art. Coffman himself had embodied that kind of personal cultivation in his experiences as schoolmaster, writer, and communicator of the Gospel. Coffman's flashes of refinement and aesthetic appreciation, in fact, more than once helped convince a perceptive, restless young learner that a Christian life need not exclude cultural enrichment. That possibility was conveyed by Coffman, for example, to the restive high school pupil C. Henry Smith. In Smith's account, the "enlarged vision" stimulated by the high school curriculum was affronted on Sundays by "several hours on a hard straight-backed bench in a plain little meetinghouse, listening to a farmer-preacher discoursing in German on the sins of wearing a gold watch chain or attending the county fair." But the visitor John S. Coffman "preached an English sermon in our church in which he showed himself thoroughly at home in the fields of literature and history and other subjects which I had been studying in school. He seemed a kindred spirit, so different from our own uneducated preachers. Riding home with us, he told me a number of interesting things about the stars which I had just been reading about."¹² Smith's vignette of the kindred spirit Coffman, discoursing with him on astronomy on the way home from the Sunday service, glimmers with what "The Spirit of Progress" revealed in whole of Coffman's vision of Mennonite education. Coffman's blueprint for Mennonite education, one infers from the speech in 1896 and from the testimonies of those who knew him, would not deny the prodigal's instinct to explore new pastures. It would somehow create a school that could both supply intellectual adventure and lead matured, cultivated young adults to embrace the Mennonite Church. This vital combination of human inquisitiveness and Christian commitment would prove fundamental to the success of the school over the generations. But to have explicitly peddled individual aesthetic discovery and intellectual fulfillment in 1894 to a traditionally conservative, communal church would likely have doomed the project without chance of a trial.

In the spring of 1894, one especially interested member of Elkhart's Prairie Street congregation, Dr. Henry A. Mumaw, volunteered to undertake the practical tasks of beginning the educational project. The homeopathic physician Mumaw had made a secondary career of founding, and selling, business schools in Ohio and Indiana. He had also had a hand in early Sunday school publishing as the first owner of the *Words of Cheer* children's paper in 1876.¹³ Meeting at Mumaw's initiative, the first informal gathering of interested men—including John F. Funk—was clearly united around Coffman's insistence on the need for a school. But they were hardly unanimous in their views of the project's feasibility or timing. Three weeks later, at another meeting called by Mumaw, the informal group around Coffman reported on views they had canvassed among members in the wider Mennonite fellowship. The group concluded that the church was "hardly ready" to sponsor a school, but they encouraged Mumaw to start the Elkhart Institute as a private venture. According to J.S. Hartzler's version of events, this idea for an independent, seemingly importunate organization struck no one, Mumaw included, as fully satisfactory.¹⁴ Yet the urgency of Coffman's conviction and the momentum generated in the discussions, combined with Mumaw's apparent yen for running business colleges, seem to have propelled the venture headlong into existence. The group's tentative spring visions of some future Mennonite school had, by August, assumed the cramped proportions of a second-story downtown classroom, advertising strenuously for students.

The Mennonite brethren who had joined Mumaw in the school discussions extended to his rather make-shift commercial institution guarded moral support—nothing more. Nor did Mumaw, in 1894, appear to have expected much from a committee which was itself somewhat makeshift. The early promotional materials and the testimony of pupils suggest that, initially at least, Dr. Mumaw was scrambling to fulfill the promise of his advertising.¹⁵ He hired F.A. Hosmer, a fresh-faced gentleman newly graduated from the Presbyterian University of Wooster, and made Hosmer, as principal and sole full-time instructor, responsible for an instant curriculum that offered mathematics, English grammar and composition, the natural sciences, elocution, pedagogy, free-hand drawing, penmanship, and vocal music. In the first year Mumaw himself covered physiology, hygiene, and physical culture. The Reverend Frank E. Knopf, a non-Mennonite minister from Elkhart, was engaged to teach ancient and modern languages and business ethics. In March, Dr. Mumaw received fortunate co-operation from a new employee, Chicago bookkeeper Thomas P. Lhamon: within a week of his hiring, Lhamon took up residence in Elkhart and tackled, in addition to bookkeeping instruction, subjects formerly unknown to him like typewriting and stenography. A brochure advertising the Institute's program for 1894-1895 concluded with Dr. Mumaw's appeal to Elkhart's citizens

to donate "Minerals, Shells, specimens of Birds, animal Monstrosities, or any other object of general interest" for use in the school. The brochure's borders contained words of educational wisdom from such sages as Pestalozzi, Burke, and Confucius. Nowhere did it mention Christian, let alone Mennonite, affiliations.¹⁶ But neither had anyone from within the official Church authorized H.A. Mumaw to reveal them.

Some ties, however unofficial, remained obvious between Mumaw's Institute and the Mennonite Church. The members of the Prairie Street congregation naturally took an interest in the fortunes of their fellow member Dr. Mumaw's school venture. Mumaw was assisted, for example, in the school's operations by Aaron C. Kolb (later to marry Mumaw's daughter Phoebe). Aaron's brother, Abram B. Kolb, taught evening music classes. Both Kolbs, Prairie Street members, were employed in Funk's Publishing Company. And, on the morning of October 8, 1884, Mumaw invited M.S. Steiner, then the director of the new Mennonite Home Mission in Chicago, to address the Institute.¹⁷

Nor had the educational interest group washed their hands of the fledgling school. J.S. Coffman at the time of the 1894 spring discussions with Mumaw had apparently retreated from the idea of sponsoring the school, acknowledging some Eastern conservatives' misgivings about Mennonite education. But in a letter to Steiner he made obvious his desire eventually to implement the original plan, a school brought fully under official church sponsorship. "If the East has a better horse to ride than we in the West (schools or manner of holding meetings or church work)," he wrote in July 1894, "let them trot him out and we will be along. But if they have no horse they must not think we are going to walk because they do, while everybody around us is riding."¹⁸

A series of developments beginning in early 1895 further strengthened the ties that bound the Mennonite Church to the Elkhart Institute. In J.S. Hartzler's recollection of events, by January that year Mumaw had assembled a meeting of local Mennonites and Amish Mennonites roughly similar in members to those involved in the first exploratory meetings. At the gathering Mumaw proposed forming a corporation that would own and direct the school.¹⁹ The Elkhart Institute Association, a stock company, was accordingly incorporated on June 13, 1895. Nine supporters of the school idea, all Mennonite, formed a Board of Trustees of which Mumaw was named president. Evangelists Coffman and J.S. Hartzler set out around the country to solicit Mennonites to purchase stock in order to raise money for an Institute building. After Coffman filed a favorable response from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, construction began in the summer of 1895 on a site diagonally across from the Prairie Street meetinghouse.

The winds of fortune, however, blew at crosscurrents for H.A. Mumaw. Throughout 1894-1895, Mumaw had agreed to manage independently a

school his brethren and the church at large hesitated to endorse. By autumn of 1895, in contrast, an incorporated, commonly-owned Elkhart Institute was rising within the purview of the Prairie Street Church, the congregational home of Mumaw and most of the school's board members and early planners. Though Mumaw was technically president of the board, he no longer had private control of the institution. And it had been the contacts of evangelists Coffman and Hartzler in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kansas, and Canada, and the local assistance of Lewis Kulp and Herman Yoder, that made the building project financially viable. When, in February 1896, J.S. Coffman delivered "The Spirit of Progress" in the Institute's new auditorium, Coffman's image as spiritual father of the school must have rather overshadowed Mumaw's image as its operator.

By the time the Board of Trustees of the Elkhart Institute Association met in April 1896, certain stockholders were agitating to give Coffman, minister in the Prairie Street Church and associate editor at the Mennonite Publishing Company, the board's authority to promote the Elkhart Institute on his evangelizing trips. Someone favoring Coffman pointed out that electing a minister president of the board would ensure half-fare travel on the train. As A.C. Kolb, then secretary of the Board, told the story forty years later, he had entered the meeting holding a large majority of votes by proxy. Coffman supporters among the stockholders (M.S. Steiner among them) pressured Kolb so persistently that he reluctantly agreed to sway the election in favor of Coffman as president, relegating Mumaw to the position of secretary. Two months later, Mumaw resigned unhappily from that office, and declined to hold that position when elected to it again in February 1898. A school loosely entrusted to Mumaw's care in 1894 had been reclaimed by guardians who, in some respects, were truer progenitors than he. On the other hand, H.A. Mumaw had invested his practical energies there; he had actually opened and operated the Institute. In September 1898, Mumaw turned away completely from the Elkhart Institute to found the Elkhart Normal School and Business College, an obvious rival to his former institution.²⁰

Thus the Elkhart Institute as it appeared in the fall of 1896 was an eclectic proposition. Part H.A. Mumaw with his phrenology charts and stenography diplomas, part turn-of-the-century progressivism, and part Coffman's transcendent vision, Goshen College's forerunner could boast no single founder nor identity. The fact that many people and parties desired its existence gave it an identity of sorts. But the parties competed at times. What the Elkhart Institute was destined to become, poised as it was in 1896 between a religiously neutral vocational school and a church-sponsored institute devoted to classical academic subjects, remained uncertain. After its 1896 opening exercises and official transfer into Coffman's hands, the school continued to absorb diverse, overlapping influences.

Clearly the Mennonite Church exerted an influence. A real influx of Mennonite students and faculty began only after the school's reorganization under Principal Noah E. Byers in 1898. But after 1896, slightly more Mennonite students, especially from Indiana, were trickling in. By 1897, enthusiastic Institute supporter C.Z. Yoder of Ohio was paying expenses for Menno Simon Yoder, a son enrolled there, at a time when the proportion of Mennonite students had risen to about one-third.²¹ The Mennonite young people who had begun to patronize the Institute arrived already familiar with evangelical revival—really the kernel of the church's expanding identity—and prepared to operate according to its assumptions: publicly confessed conviction of faith, productive work for the cause of Christ, belief in the possibility of personal transformation. Life at the Institute supplemented those lessons. Consider, for example, the gauntlet of progressive Mennonitism run by the Ohio youth Isaiah W. Royer in November 1898, as he approached the Elkhart Institute on his first day:

On the way to school I attended the first Mennonite General Conference at the Holdeman Church near Wakarusa, where J.S. Hartzler asked J.F. Funk to take me along to Elkhart. My first sight of the Elkhart Institute was as Brother Funk and I drove up South Prairie Street in his one-horse buggy. That first evening there was a missionary meeting at the Prairie Street Church where J.S. Coffman, A.D. Wenger, M.S. Steiner, D.H. Bender, George Lambert, and others spoke. At this meeting J.A. Ressler and Dr. and Mrs. Page volunteered as the first missionaries from our church to India.²²

There was a natural interrelatedness about these activities which in the experience of this future minister had at their center the Elkhart Institute.²³

Elkhart's city life surrounded the Institute. Mumaw had promoted the school extensively, and the local press granted it ample attention. Institute students rented rooms in private homes or establishments like Main Street's Hotel Golden, where they found employment cooking, cleaning, or portering—though, as the Rules and Regulations of the Elkhart Institute decreed, "Lady and gentlemen students shall not take rooms in the same home." Due to its limited space and facilities, the school arranged for student use of the Young Men's Christian Association's reading rooms, gymnasiums, and bathtubs. Graduation or "closing" exercises were held at the YMCA, and, one year, in the opulent Bucklen Opera House. For its part, the Institute welcomed Elkhart citizens to its literary society, recitals, lectures, and devotional programs. Students patronized Bower's Boat Livery across town for outings to Island Park on the St. Joseph River, and male students splashed about a swimming hole in the Elkhart River near Studebaker Park.

The Elkhart location also put the Institute in reach of Chicago. There was a direct connection by rail to the metropolis, where William Rainey Harper had established a major American university, evangelist D.L. Moody held forth against the city's sinful pleasures, and a small group of Mennonite doctors and Sunday school teachers struggled to build a Home Mission. Some of the Institute's staff and occasional lecturers came from Chicago. A few students proceeded there from Elkhart to find employment or receive further training. Of course, one facet of Mennonites' view of cities pictured centers of iniquity better avoided. All the same, young adults at a school within relatively close proximity to a city on the scale of turn-of-the-century Chicago naturally found some urban sophistication irresistible, at least at second hand. That urban proximity was not reproduced at Hesston, Kansas, or Harrisonburg, Virginia, the sites chosen to establish subsequent Mennonite colleges.

Finally, as the Elkhart Institute introduced more Bible instruction into its curriculum following 1896, it was bound to hear theological echoes from the liberal reaches of academic progress, where theories about the Social Gospel, Darwinian evolution, and Higher Criticism were making their mark in the 1890s. In a setting such as Elkhart's, these ideas most definitely came to people as echoes, not as direct bombardments of established views. But the echoes made their gentle impact.

Given the many currents passing through the Elkhart Institute around 1896, one might venture with assurance the idea that the place matched Coffman's "Spirit of Progress" blueprint more closely in theory than in practice. It was still operating as an American institution in the normal school mode, offering an undistinguished curriculum. At times, it was on better terms with the bustling little city to its north than with the Mennonites worshipping across the street. Yet after 1896, the Elkhart Institute clearly aspired to be a Mennonite institute, having added J.S. Hartzler to its staff in 1895, Joseph W. Yoder of Belleville, Pennsylvania, around 1897, and a more or less all-Mennonite faculty by 1898. Its students were staying for longer terms of study, and more were Mennonite, bringing to Elkhart the interconnections and family bonds common to members of that denomination. If parents remained skeptical, students had little trouble being convinced that there was more to life than running a farm. "Why shouldn't a prairie country boy of eighteen enjoy himself in such surroundings!," wrote an alumnus:

. . . congenial companionship of boys and girls of his own age and kindred in spirit, the romantic St. Joe inviting to numerous boat rides and picnic parties, a string of lakes nearby where fishing was good, bicycle paths leading out of town in every direction, native patches of forest at frequent intervals along every roadside, band concerts, oratorios, lecture courses, literary societies—all these.

What a contrast . . . to the hard dusty work in the cornfields under a hot July sun or following a thrashing gang on the flat, treeless, uninteresting prairies of Illinois.²⁴

A spirit of continuity and loyalty was developing around the school and among past pupils. Coffman and Hartzler tried to communicate that spirit as they solicited families and congregations for students and financial support. To be sure, the Elkhart Institute found its way toward becoming a Mennonite liberal arts college in increments, not overnight. But despite fits and starts in management, academic rough edges, and internal contradictions, a considerable energy carried the school in Coffman's direction.

Though he did not realize it in 1896, a young native of Illinois named Noah Ebersole Byers was also being carried toward John S. Coffman and the Elkhart Institute. Byers merits special attention in a study of Mennonite higher education. In his early experience are united many of the ingredients that distinguished the pioneering years of the entire movement: exceptional natural intelligence and personal motivation, a family supportive of education, a progressive home congregation that had provided the occasion for an evangelical conversion to the Mennonite faith, wide exposure to culture at the university and participation there in a broader Protestant milieu, experience and interest in teaching as such, and a commitment to Christian service. Furthermore, Byers had a large part in guiding the Mennonite educational movement, beginning in 1898 when he arrived at Elkhart Institute as principal and continuing as Goshen College's first president from 1903 to 1913. He exerted a remarkably long influence in Mennonite higher education. As the seventy-year-old Byers himself observed in 1954 at a Goshen College anniversary program, he had left Goshen College in 1913 but his former pupils kept cropping up there as professors, deans, and presidents. Even Goshen's new president in 1954, Paul Mininger, Byers noted with some delight, was the son of Byers' former Elkhart Institute pupil, Hettie Kulp (Mininger).²⁵ In 1952 Byers had written, "I was in close touch with Goshen, Bethel, and Bluffton during this [fifty-two year] period. Students of mine were on the faculties of these colleges most of the time. . . . At this writing the presidents of these three colleges as well as the president of Mennonite Biblical Seminary [i.e. the seminary of the General Conference Mennonite Church] were former students of mine."²⁶ The role Byers played in the story of Goshen College was at the same time emblematic and exceptional.

The fortuitous results of Byers' arrival at the Elkhart Institute in 1898 tempt one to suggest that, like northern Indiana Mennonites and their secondary school, Byers and the Institute were destined to find one another. On the other hand, some aspects of Byers' experience made it unlikely that they ever would. The sustaining link between Noah Byers and Elkhart was J.S. Coffman.

In 1889, John S. Coffman conducted the first evangelistic meetings at Byers' church, Science Ridge, several miles north of Sterling, Illinois. Prior to the publication of John F. Funk's *Herald of Truth* and visits by Funk himself to the Science Ridge pulpit, Byers wrote, his congregation had been "formal and lifeless." When Coffman arrived at Science Ridge for a series of meetings, the congregation, having never held an evening service, had to improvise lighting in the dark meeting house. "I remember . . . several oil lamps were placed on the pulpit and window sills and some of the members held lighted candles so as to be able to read the hymns," Byers stated, recalling the event. Against that backdrop of shadows and soft light, Coffman led forty or so people to join the church. Noah Byers, a high school student at the time, was among them.²⁷

Byers' next encounter with Coffman occurred when Coffman traveled through Illinois churches selling Elkhart Institute stock, probably during the summer of 1895 as Byers was preparing to teach a year in a local school house himself. Byers and his brother obliged Coffman by purchasing a couple of shares, something Byers would joke about as a past president of Goshen College. Teaching in his home community throughout 1895-1896, Byers likely would have had access to news of the Institute's February opening exercises, or at least to the text of "The Spirit of Progress" printed in the *Young People's Paper* that spring. For his part, Coffman, who famously retained in his memory the names and situations of the young people he had converted, and had trained his eye on educational developments among young Mennonites, surely was keeping tabs on Noah Byers.

Like C. Henry Smith, his fellow rural son of Illinois, Noah Byers enjoyed family circumstances and a native intelligence that allowed him aggressively to pursue higher education at a time when most of his Mennonite peers cast their lot with farm work. Byers, to be sure, had extensive experience by an early age with the latter, since his father, John J. Byers, had died when Noah was an infant. Before he turned sixteen, he was managing the 150 acre farm of his widowed mother, Esther Ebersole Byers—"good training for executive ability," Byers discovered later. He had to leave the East Science Ridge school prematurely each spring to tend the farm, but though delayed until age sixteen in taking the eighth grade Central Examination, Byers stood out as one of the few in the district to pass the test. Two Ebersole uncles had been permitted to attend the Sterling high school by their minister father, Byers' grandfather, Abram Ebersole. Noah Byers emulated the uncles, and was assisted and encouraged by his mother to complete the high school course. He followed his graduation with nine months of rural school teaching of the eight grades.

Byers' next step, according to the patterns of the time, quite plausibly could have steered him into the Methodist fold or beyond. In September 1894, he enrolled at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, a Meth-

odist-founded institution north of Chicago, matriculating as a premedical student in its College of Arts and Sciences about two weeks before the Elkhart Institute opened its single rented classroom. If Sterling high school had offered a few faint intimations of American college life, Northwestern University revealed the genuine article. Extracurricular activity abounded under the overarching banners of Northwestern's purple and white: religious associations, Greek fraternities, literary societies, mandolin clubs, tennis games, class competitions. A sophomore discoursing breezily on student traditions in the university annual *The Syllabus* for 1894-1895 opined that any freshman failing by the end of the year to have joined a single organization should be shot. (The university apparently frowned upon too-strenuous attempts to goad new students into joining up: college officials in 1894 required incoming students to sign an honor-bound pledge "to abstain from cane-rushes and all forms of hazing" while connected with the University). Byers joined up. He joined the Hinman literary society, the university's oldest. He joined the library association. He joined his classmates in their class yell:

Rah-la-ka-hi! Kallloo!

Zip-boom! Ba-la-boom! N! U!

Ninety-Eight!

He joined the YMCA. Elected treasurer in his junior year, he thus garnered the campus prestige of a YMCA executive officer. Association with the YMCA meant trips to the national organization's ten-day annual conference held every summer at campgrounds on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. It was there in the summer of 1897 that Byers first encountered C. Henry Smith, traveling as local president-elect with his own YMCA group from Illinois State Normal School. Smith remembered his initial impression of Byers as that of a man-about-campus: "I first saw him in one corner of the car on the train out from Chicago to Lake Geneva with a group of Northwestern students wearing little purple caps and diminutive purple ties, entertaining the rest of us with their college songs and yells."²⁸ On a matriculation form inquiring, "What church will you attend in Evanston?", Byers entered no response.

Yet Byers' college life was taken up with religious activities, many of them shared with his grandly-named roommate, Burton Little St. John, a high school classmate from Sterling. St. John, destined after graduation to become personal secretary to the world missions leader John R. Mott, and eventually a missionary to China himself, was an English major planning to enter the ministry. He had preached briefly in the Sterling Methodist-Episcopal Church even before leaving home. At Northwestern, St. John became president of the Volunteer Band, a branch of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions—the influential crusade whose optimistic slogan

was "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." While Byers did not become a member of the Volunteer Band, he stayed in touch with its activities through St. John, cultivating a plan to become a medical foreign missionary. He attended the Lake Geneva YMCA conference twice, and in 1898 attended as a delegate the Quadrennial Volunteer Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio. Some Sundays he rode into the city to teach Sunday school at the new Mennonite Home Mission, where his uncle Dr. S.D. Ebersole worked.

In the course of his college career, Byers grew more interested in the missionary part of his professional plan, less in the medical. The field of education began to draw him. He interrupted his residence at Northwestern in 1895-1896 to teach rural school at home. That absence necessitated catchup work; for this he attended summer terms at the University of Chicago. Courses at Chicago in history, English literature, philosophy, and pedagogics stirred Byers' interest in the liberal arts. Back at Northwestern, he took courses in Logic and the History of Philosophy with Professor Coe, but continued to log laboratory hours in University Hall pursuing what would remain his major undergraduate field, zoology. In his final year, Byers enrolled under zoology professor Conklin for a course called Studies in Organic Evolution, described in the University catalog as "lectures on the history of the evolution idea and the evidences and factors of organic evolution." In June 1898, the Northwestern senior class graduated amid pomp and circumstance in Chicago's new Auditorium Theater.²⁹ One month later, Noah Byers was married to Emma Dora LeFevre, a fellow Mennonite from Sterling. He had concluded his college studies expecting to volunteer as a foreign missionary teacher. Yet by August 15, Noah Byers had become the principal of the Elkhart Institute, no further afield from familiar moorings than at the head of a small northern Indiana school planted directly opposite a Mennonite church. At a second important crossroads in Byers' life, J.S. Coffman had again played a significant role.

As President of the Board, Coffman successfully wooed Byers to the Elkhart Institute by depicting the school's development as a mission activity of high calling. Through his YMCA and Student Volunteer contacts, Byers had already become convinced that foreign mission must depend on Christian, college-educated workers. Building on that conviction, Coffman persuaded Byers that the Institute, properly directed, could serve Christ by educating Mennonite missionaries. Byers apparently saw providential symmetry in the fact that his personal and vocational conversions had both been effected by Coffman, writing that "this prophet who led me into the Christian life and the Mennonite church now gave me the opportunity of starting on my career not as a missionary but as a teacher of missionaries."³⁰

There was logic in Byers' acceptance of Elkhart's offer even beyond Coffman's arguments. It was true, as Byers pointed out later, that he was

“the only one in this group who was a college graduate and had teaching experience.” To the institution’s good fortune, however, his aptitude for the job proved to exceed those basic qualifications. He had received academic preparation in superior institutions. He had been trained in extracurricular activities to become an effective public man in the affairs of his time. His manner with students commanded loyalty and respect. And he was something of a reformer. Before entering high school, Byers had read Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward*, a late nineteenth-century socialist utopian novel, calling it his “first thought-provoking book.” “I think it influenced me for the rest of my life to be more critical of the present order and more sympathetic to progressive ideas,” Byers wrote.³¹ In addition to these reasons for going to Elkhart, Byers’ new wife had a tie to the school. Emma LeFevre Byers had attended the Institute during her future husband’s time at Northwestern, graduating in June 1898. Thus in the fall of 1898, guided toward Elkhart by various signs, Byers assumed the office of principal. He was twenty-five years old.

Mission concerns permeated the school’s remaining five years at Elkhart and followed the institution to Goshen. N.E. Byers’ personal interests in the volunteer movement, traffic between the Institute and the Chicago Home Mission, and the sending from Elkhart between 1898 and 1900 of the first five Mennonite missionaries to India all helped put missionary issues at the center of its devotional and social life.

India aroused especially strong interest within the early Mennonite mission movement.³² In the first years of the Institute’s existence, George Lambert, an Elkhart Mennonite, traveled the world and wrote books about his experiences. His second travelogue, *India, The Horror-Stricken Empire*, published in Elkhart in 1898, described desperate famine conditions Lambert had observed in India first hand, submitted to the public “on behalf of benighted India.” If the melodramatic title and occasionally sensationalist tone of the book amuse a century later, Lambert’s compendium of geographical and cultural data, supported by ample photographic evidence of a tragedy, still have moving effectiveness. Describing the outset of his travel through India’s famine areas in text faced by an illustration of two starving children, Lambert wrote,

In some parts of Bombay, that is to say, in the European quarters, one would not think that plague and famine were devastating the country. This may be one reason why the officials, shut up in their own environments, and seeing no particular want and suffering *there* were so slow to recognize the true state of affairs outside the pale of their surroundings. But in going through the native quarters in a carriage, the poor came running after us crying for something to eat.³³

One can assume that Mennonite readers of the anecdote allied themselves with the author's, rather than the European officials', way of seeing India's realities. Whatever its susceptibility to mission melodrama, Lambert's tome on India at least avoided the insensitive cheek of some of N.E. Byers' college peers, who illustrated the Foreign Volunteer Band page of the 1898 Northwestern yearbook with a cartoon depicting a grinning, spear-carrying African stirring a bubbling cauldron, with no evidence of missionary presence save a Bible, top hat, and umbrella cast aside on the grass.³⁴ The willingness to come to grips boldly with a new culture, first hand, distinguished the early Mennonite missionaries and, taking various forms, followed Goshen College's international involvements through to the establishment of the Study-Service Trimester six decades later.

The first Mennonite volunteers for the India mission, minister Jacob A. Ressler, a widower from Scottdale, Pennsylvania, and Dr. William and Alice Thut Page, departed with the Pages' infant son for India on February 22, 1899, following a farewell service held February 15 at the Prairie Street Church. Even before these pioneer missionaries sailed, students had pledged support for an Indian orphan, to be administered by Ressler and Dr. Page once those missionaries had arrived on location. In May of 1900, Mary M. Yoder and Jacob Burkhard, two Institute students, were married at Prairie Street and in September headed out to India to join the mission work there. At the prescribed time on the morning of September 19, students gathered for chapel at Elkhart and together envisioned Brother and Sister Burkhard "taking their last farewell look on their homeland."³⁵ I.R. Detweiler and Bertha Zook, also Institute students, embarked for India in the fall of 1902. Personal links to the mission field through former Institute classmates impressed the India cause deeply on students. Accounts posted back to the school newspaper, the *Institute Monthly*, by Jacob Ressler, by the Burkhardts and the Detweilers of their voyages by way of Europe and of their Asian surroundings—accounts rich in observed detail, vivid anecdote, and intellectual excitement—supplied Elkhart County schoolmates a window on the unimaginable. The October 15, 1899, issue of the *Institute Monthly* featured on its front page a photograph of Ressler and the Pages wearing white cork helmets, posing with three non-Mennonite missionary friends before a grove of palm trees.³⁶ Their friends at home cast the missionaries in the light of heroes, or even something like school mascots. Judging from the evidence of the *Institute Monthly*, Elkhart students and faculty strengthened their local institutional bonds by rallying around a mission station in far-off India's Central Province.

Of course, Mennonite mission was finding its legs in the context of the entire Church, not only inside the circle of its one secondary school. Yet frequent intersections between the two new projects were inescapable. For example, if the Church tended to mingle the noble purposes of mission

and education, it could also perceive them to run similar risks. Both progressive movements literally took candidates away from home; they likewise shared a reputation for putting spiritual distance between their participants and the home folks.³⁷ Skeptics tended to tar mission with the education brush, as evident in the long-standing criticism through its first thirty-odd years that the India mission was “Goshenized.”³⁸ Mission workers, conversely, communicated urgently the importance of a broad college preparation in fitting missionaries for effective service. John R. Mott, Robert Speer, and other mission experts popular at the time had taught that lesson to Byers and his YMCA friends at Northwestern. J.S. Coffman had used the argument to bring Byers to Elkhart. And correspondence home to church leaders from early Mennonite India workers repeated that refrain.³⁹

As one might expect, these men and women in the field continued their own educations. At an enormous geographical remove from the ideological struggles and subtle shifts of opinion in the home church, the India missionaries—“Goshenized” indeed, to the extent that the bulk of them had attended there or at Elkhart—were able to transport largely intact the spirit and ideals of their college experience. Acting on intellectual and interdenominational promptings born of that context could in turn displease home constituents, and renew the cycle of double-barrelled criticism against Mennonite mission and education. There were even objections from home conferences to the high proportion of missionaries’ efforts being given to high school and industrial training of Central Province villagers.⁴⁰

Like it or not, however, in heeding the mission call the Mennonite Church broadened its horizons. Historians Schlabach and Juhnke have amply demonstrated the ways in which Mennonites borrowed from Protestant mission theory, and even from American political expansionism, as they found their way into missions at the turn of the century. At the Elkhart Institute after 1898, Principal Byers and faculty such as C. Henry Smith and Lina Zook (before she married Jacob Ressler and actually went out to India) made available to the student body their knowledge of Protestant mission movements at home and abroad. In November 1898, Byers invited his Northwestern roommate Burton St. John, by then traveling secretary of the national Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, to spend four days speaking at the Institute. Byers also oversaw the formation of a Young People’s Christian Association (YPCA) in his first year as principal, serving as its first president.

By the following summer, 1899, the group sponsored the student Irvin R. Detweiler to attend the Lake Geneva conference, a tradition that continued among YPCA officers into the second decade of the twentieth century at Goshen. At Geneva, delegates added to a busy slate of devotional and organizational activities the wholesome outdoor pleasures of swimming, boating, and hiking on the lake’s forested bluffs. The delegates slept in open

tents, ate camp food, and sang the conference song, "I'll go where you want me to go, dear Lord, I'll be what you want me to be." The combination of recreational and spiritual activities fostered a network of contacts among these select student leaders from around the Middle West.⁴¹ And to a group of delegates returning to their home institution, the shared Geneva experience was a touchstone of the wider evangelical world. In addition to the private spiritual benefits it afforded, the Lake Geneva meeting was meant to supply new officers with pointers and techniques for directing the local organization throughout the year, and these methods, of course, had nothing indigenously Mennonite about them.

Students returned from Lake Geneva under a kind of devotional spell. "Its subtle influence like a sweet fragrance lingered with me for many days," one delegate recalled.⁴² The experience could make a veteran impatient to initiate others. "Geneva still runs in my mind. . .," recent graduate Vernon Smucker wrote in July 1915, back at his home in Smithville, Ohio, to his college classmate Amos E. Kreider:

I sincerely wish some of our church leaders could have heard some of the sermons preached from that pulpit. They would have had their eyes opened on some points without raising any questions as to orthodoxy. We had another of those prayer meetings in the gym under the leadership of Fred B. Smith. . . . It was after the regular evening meeting and the fellows were packed into this gym, sitting on the floor, with only a smoky old oil lamp to give light. It was. . . the most impressive meeting of that nature I ever attended.

Smucker went on to commend to Kreider one of the Geneva speakers, Raymond Robbins, one who "certainly has the 'juice,' to use a term which he himself uses quite frequently."⁴³

Women representatives of the YPCA attended a similar conference at least as early as 1905 at Lakeside, Ohio, and later attended women's conferences at Lake Geneva. These conferences, John Umble pointed out, impressed the participants in such a way that the college's entire social and religious life felt their influence. But Umble conceded that the eagerness for wider Protestant experience instilled in students at conferences such as those held at Lake Geneva contributed, over time, to disappointing incompatibilities between the aspirations of some Goshen graduates and the work of the Mennonite Church.⁴⁴ The students naturally became frustrated if exciting new ideas could not be immediately implemented due to church elders' resistance. But from the point of view of many church leaders, the college representatives' enthusiastic endorsement of ideas gleaned from charismatic national leaders of other denominations indicated a waning

regard for Mennonite separatism and threatened to erode distinctive Mennonite principles.

At the dawn of the Byers era, however, making mission the lodestar of school life helped unite the Institute's various educational impulses. For a school to sponsor mission work underlined one "Spirit of Progress" ideal: to develop the powers of the individual for the sake of serving the many. It also lent to academic pursuit the high calling of religious consecration: seemingly inconsequential class preparation in Elkhart County could gather to itself broader significance if viewed as supportive of world evangelism. Mission awareness, even in spite of itself, was inevitably consistent with the broadening, exploratory goals of liberal education. The vehicle for Mennonite mission bulletins from abroad invariably was the wide-eyed travelogue, a genre permitting creative self-expression and even profound philosophical asides. Furthermore, the general idea of striking out to foreign lands came into greater acceptance once missionary travelers had pioneered such trips. A number of noted Mennonites associated with the Institute undertook extensive trips after the way to foreign travel had been opened by missionaries. College secretary J.S. Hartzler toured Europe and the Holy Land by way of India in the summer of 1910. Some traveled unapologetically for cultural enrichment, as in the case of the European grand tour made by President Byers and Professor of German Daniel S. Gerig in the summer of 1912, or the odyssey-by-bicycle through England undertaken in the summer of 1913 by Goshen students Lester Hostetler and Vernon Smucker. John Umble toured in Europe in 1912.⁴⁵ The unavoidable confrontation with culture faced in urban and international settings by Mennonite American missionaries had its counterpart in the "foreign" transport budding Mennonite scholars could experience by way of a certain textbook, piece of music, or lecture. Shortly after his little group's arrival in Bombay, missionary Dr. Page wrote, "We at once find everything very much different from anything that we have ever seen before,"⁴⁶ a nice summation of the wondrous disorientation possible both in foreign travel and in some students' first year in college. Both mission and education assumed a venture into the unknown, a reordering of one's notions of self and reality, and then, ideally, a synthesis of newly-gained knowledge with inherited home truths. If one accepts the ultimate significance of the Gospel of Luke's parable of the prodigal son to be the prodigal's "coming to himself," the triumph of an enlightened homecoming, then perhaps that travelogue-parable supplies some scriptural commentary on the process of Christian education.⁴⁷

But the middle, reordering stage of Mennonites' foreign and educational ventures could admittedly present problems. In 1909, Anna Kauffman (Hess), a former pupil and instructor at Goshen, referred to an intellectual-spiritual "reconstruction period" some students experienced, an

experience Kauffman associated with "anguish."⁴⁸ The newly-married India worker Mary Burkhard penned a poignant letter from her home at Dhamtari in India's Central Province. Its tone wavered between admirable zeal and loss of heart:

This work is all in His name and we have the promise of "Whatever". . . The people among whom our field is are mostly low-caste. They are dishonest, untruthful, and immoral, caring most of all only to have something to eat. It takes patience and the love of God in our hearts to work among them and with them, but when we have that it is easy enough. . . We enjoy the work and often thank God for the privilege of witnessing for Christ where it is so necessary. If we had no work to do here we could not live here with pleasure, for it in itself, from a human standpoint, is great sacrifice. But from the divine standpoint it is altogether different, from which standpoint His grace enables us to see it.⁴⁹

"To come from school directly to the foreign field has proven an interesting experience for us," M.C. Lehman wrote from Dhamtari to his former professor Byers in December 1906. He eagerly reviewed for Byers a year's worth of fascinating anthropological impressions, mentioning his interest in sending an essay comparing Hindu and Christian metaphysics for publication in the college newspaper, the *Record*. Yet, Lehman confided a bit sheepishly, a newcomer to India must curb his many inclinations, lest he "sink the missionary in the explorer."⁵⁰ In Lehman's twin characters "missionary" and "explorer," Noah Byers must have recognized impulses contending in Mennonite education, as well.

Finally, in the adoption of mission as a school-wide cause, students and faculty cultivated the romantic, even conspiratorial atmosphere in which school spirit and loyalty thrive. "Missionaries bore a special mystique," James Juhnke has written, "intensified by whatever opposition they received at home and abroad. They risked their lives in the greatest of causes and had stories to tell."⁵¹ To the extent that the mission mystique rubbed off on the school, a mission emphasis contributed to the Institute's, and later Goshen's, self-confident identity. One could compare the phenomenon to a select, high-performance athletic team radiating its glory onto its entire enthusiastic body of home town supporters.

When N.E. Byers became principal of the Elkhart Institute in 1898, the building on Prairie Street was all of four years old. Nonetheless, the need to find a new location for the school made itself clear shortly after Byers' arrival. For one thing, enrollment at the Institute had increased steadily. The Elkhart community continued to attend the Institute's public programs. The Institute Hall, where J.S. Coffman had delivered "The Spirit of Progress"

in 1896, could not accommodate all of the crowd who gathered for commencement exercises in 1901. There were also problems inherent in the structure and in its site. The building had been constructed on such low ground that its basement level, including its furnace, was often flooded by underground water. There was no room on the Prairie Street lot for additional buildings.

In addition, by 1900, the Institute's location presented an unforeseen problem in its proximity to the Prairie Street Mennonite Church. Tensions had arisen within that congregation earlier when the 1896 reshuffling of authority in the Elkhart Institute Association had pitted one church member, H.A. Mumaw, against the successful faction of J.S. Coffman's supporters, many of them also Prairie Street members. In time, these behind-the-scenes political problems joined disagreements within the congregation on religious and personal matters to form a network of conflicts at Prairie Street Church which one way or another included the Elkhart Institute. Though faculty and students at the Institute from the start had participated in congregational activities, and indeed through the summer of 1900 treated Prairie Street as its natural church home, it had also developed an academic and devotional life that engendered independent loyalties. For their part, some Prairie Street church members disapproved of the cultural freedoms taken in men's athletic games and social and literary programs, and in the fashionable dress of students. At the same time, minister John F. Funk, who in 1892 had been made bishop of the congregation, appeared to some members as he reached the age of sixty-five in 1900 to wield an unwelcome, more heavy-handed version of what had always been a forthright leadership. Whatever censure of Institute activity Funk may have wished to make, however, seemed superseded in 1900 when an investigating committee appointed by the General Conference of the Mennonite Church, a two-year-old denomination-wide body, approved the work of the Institute in a published report.

In the fall of 1900, a group of Institute faculty, students, and friends sympathetic to the school broke from the Prairie Street congregation. They were led by some of the ministers who had helped plan the Institute in the first place. They met in homes, then in an Elkhart downtown storeroom, and ultimately in the Institute auditorium itself. The group remaining for worship at the Prairie Street meetinghouse included Bishop Funk, his Publishing Company associates, and Dr. H.A. Mumaw. When a number of young people of the Institute group wished to be baptized in May 1901, Daniel Kauffman, the young bishop from Missouri, championed their cause. He conducted the services at the Institute building, justifying the act on the basis of his status as a bishop of the Missouri Conference—thus side-stepping the authority that would normally have been Funk's. In 1902, after a special committee appointed to resolve the dispute intervened, the school and church groups reunited in one congregation. Though the breach had

officially been healed, Institute scouts seeking a new location nonetheless agreed that the site should be separate from Prairie Street Church.⁵²

Several communities, including in Ohio those of Wadsworth and West Liberty, competed to provide a new location for Elkhart Institute. The Board of Directors of the Elkhart Institute Association, however, always considered a site in Elkhart's Highland Park area to be the most desirable. Nonetheless, leading citizens of the smaller, nearby city of Goshen proposed five sites, one of them consisting of ten acres of farm land in the Parkside area, a short walk east of the Elkhart River at the south end of town.⁵³ The Goshen group, especially businessman Wilbur L. Stonex and attorney Anthony Deahl, worked industriously to offer an attractive opportunity to the Elkhart Institute's Committee on Location. When a financial crisis in the spring of 1903 led the Elkhart Highland Park Association unexpectedly to raise their original purchase price, the Institute's Committee on Location just as unexpectedly opted for the south Goshen site. The city of Goshen would raise a loan of ten thousand dollars to secure the site. The school management would immediately construct a main college building. It would also purchase land north from the school site as far as Jackson Street, to be sold by the school management as 140 building lots. The management would agree to call the school Goshen College for at least ten years. In June 1902, the Elkhart Institute's commencement week program had announced a visit across town to Highland Park, "the possible future home of the Institute." One year later during commencement week, on June 2, 1903, some 150 faculty, students, and visitors in festive spirits rode interurban cars Elkhart to Goshen. In a wheat field situated at the foot of an unpaved, undeveloped Eighth Street, they joined another 150 people to break ground for the new college building that would become the Administration Building.

When seventy-seven students arrived at Goshen College for classes in September 1903, the campus's appearance, as John Umble wrote understatedly, was "better imagined than described."⁵⁴ Before classes began, someone hastily threw boards between the college's two incomplete buildings to enable students and faculty to pick their way across the muddy construction site. Throughout that first fall term, classes, literary societies, and devotional services met in East Hall, a building actually intended for the sole use of housing women students. In early January, the Administration Building was finally ready to accommodate "recitations," or class sessions. Even then, the instructors and their "reciting" pupils competed with the builders' clatter. On January 8, 1904, the Administration Building was dedicated with formal exercises in the new Assembly Hall, almost exactly ten years after J.S. Coffman had delivered "The Spirit of Progress" in a newly-completed Elkhart Institute Chapel Hall. In 1906, the college erected a new women's dormitory, Kulp Hall, named for the institution's late Elkhart benefactor, Lewis Kulp. Thus emptied of its female residents, East Hall pro-

vided the first men's on-campus housing and was promptly dubbed "Saints' Rest" by its residents.⁵⁵

When the Elkhart Institute in 1903 moved east to become Goshen College, it carried with it close to ten years of academic and religious experience. Three important strands in the weave of Elkhart tradition imported to and developed at Goshen College were intellectual inquiry (strengthened since the coming of N.E. Byers), a consecrated religious purpose animating the work at the school, and loyalty to the academic institution itself. The Elkhart Institute also bequeathed to Goshen College a somewhat uneven relationship with its main constituency, the Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations of the U.S. and Canada. Those congregations by 1903 supplied the school's faculty, the majority of its pupils, the members of its board of directors, and the bulk of its financial support. The school had received approving mention by the Mennonite General Conference, the body attempting under a young moderator, Daniel Kauffman, to arrange the church's expanding activities under the authority of a single organization. But the activities of the Institute had also excited criticism from conservative congregations, especially in the West and East. For that matter, difference of opinion about the Institute had even contributed to a temporary rupture within the Prairie Street Church, one of most progressive congregations in the entire Mennonite Church. The new Goshen College inherited a challenge that was already pressing at Elkhart, to build harmonious relations between an evolving academic entity and the church at large.

Already mindful of that challenge in 1901, the Board of Trustees of the Elkhart Institute Association, the organization that in 1895 had been formed primarily with members from Elkhart County, had decided to elect a larger number of members and in doing so to draw on conference districts throughout North America. Then, in the wake of the move to Goshen, influential church leaders such as Bishop Joseph S. Shoemaker of Illinois urged the Board of Trustees to consider giving an even fuller role in the school's management to the Mennonite Church. To this movement for greater church control of the school President Byers added his support, to the surprise and alarm of some of his faculty colleagues.

On November 15, 1905, the trustees of the Elkhart Institute Association—until that point a self-perpetuating, private corporation of stockholders—turned over its property to a newly organized board of trustees, the Mennonite Board of Education. That board was henceforth to be elected by the regional conferences of the Mennonite and Amish Mennonite churches. The organization provided that the college president, the business manager, and an alumni representative would also sit on the board. A local board of seven or so members, including the college president and dean, was identified to manage the actual operation of the institution. Writing fifty years later, Byers reflected that the plan he endorsed in 1905 had

definitely “put the college under the control of a more conservative board,” but that “for the sake of winning the whole constituency and serving its needs by building a strong institution I think it was the wise thing to do even if it would require a different leadership to carry on successfully.”⁵⁶

A crucial difference in college management after 1905, then, was that the Mennonite Church conferences themselves would control the board’s membership. Some of the conference districts, of course, were more prepared than others to encourage a college’s inquiry, its particular brand of Christian consecration, and its institutional loyalties. In theory, at least, the board’s authority in Goshen’s affairs would tie the inner core of college loyalists to Mennonite circles beyond the Aurora arch. In practice, Goshen administrators and faculty would also discover following 1905, the weave of institutional tradition at Goshen would need to make room for a fourth strand: obedience.

At Elkhart, an openness to free intellectual inquiry had nudged the school away from being a vocational training center and toward developing a liberal arts curriculum. A liberal arts program, Byers knew from his own immersion in a university college of arts and sciences, aimed to integrate in its curriculum a body of historically significant human knowledge with a view to forming cultivated human beings. It aspired to prepare its graduates for lifelong, flexible, independent thinking and learning rather than merely to supply narrow professional skills. Furthermore, while the liberal arts tradition honored the classic subjects of the university tradition, it also implied a progressive view of human learning. It viewed education as a never-ending, searching journey from old understandings toward new ideas.

Higher education, if approached from the liberal arts tradition, was understood to be a quest: revelatory, transforming, beneficial. Students attending Goshen during Byers’ presidency took away from the college the humanist notion that education supplies the mature human being’s need to explore and know. They also absorbed the idea that distinct and very different areas of human knowledge might nevertheless illuminate one another, and that the minute particularity of each discipline could point to ultimate truth: the little cranny flower of Tennyson’s popular poem, “The Flower Sermon,” could in fact reveal the secret of the universe.

These notes were sounded repeatedly in the Education section of the Mennonite periodical *The Christian Monitor*, whose editorial oversight President Byers had from 1909 to 1913. On the occasion of a New Year’s editorial, Byers challenged *Monitor* readers to seek “new information,” think “new thoughts,” and find “new ways” of doing their work. They should be “glad to find new problems to solve,” and so on. Rethinking the same thoughts, Byers warned, “means intellectual starvation.” Opening oneself to the new, by contrast, means “even more of the richness and beauty of a large life.”⁵⁷

C. Henry Smith had supported similar ideas in a chapel address entitled "Bondage," delivered before the Elkhart student body in 1899. There Smith had concluded that the educated mind must resist the tendency to think within the same narrow grooves, "Not because old habits of thinking are always wrong (although many times they are), but because without this freedom growth is impossible. . . ." ⁵⁸ M.S. Steiner at an Elkhart Institute Educational Conference held June 13, 1902, also warned against outworn habits of thought. To smugly announce "Now I know it," Steiner said, contradicts his ideal of education. "When we get rid of that view of life, and do not give up searching, then we are where we can amount to something. Even if we do learn things a little incorrectly; that does not take away all our religion from us. . . ." Of course, Steiner added, he stood by the Bible. When theories stand against the Word, he testified, "I let go the theory and take hold of the Word." Yet the mere fact of knowing as much as possible about the world, contradictory theories included, is no sin. ⁵⁹ One would be hard-pressed to find any Goshen insider during the Byers years, 1903 to 1913, retreating from that view.

By the time the Institute moved to Goshen, the liberal arts ideal had already made some inroads into the school's curriculum. In 1898, the new principal Byers had immediately set about revising the school's predominantly commercial-vocational curriculum. He outlined a four-year "Latin-Scientific" course, whose requirements resembled those prescribed by high schools and actually yielded the equivalent of a four-year "academy" or high school course plus one year of college work. The school also continued to offer some teacher-training, commercial, stenographic, "physical culture," and Bible courses as well. With the opening of the school in Goshen on September 28, 1903, Byers had added to the curriculum the option of pursuing the first two years of college work. In June 1910, the first Goshen students to complete a four-year college course received bachelor's degrees.

A four-year program of high school study survived the move to Goshen in the form of the Goshen Academy, a private school administered by the college that offered the standard high school curriculum. Meeting in a pair of third floor classrooms at the east side of the Administration Building, the Academy brought to campus older students eager to complete high school training, or high school age pupils seeking a church-influenced setting. A fair number of Academy pupils entered Goshen College after receiving their diplomas.⁶⁰ In addition to retaining a high school program at Goshen, Byers continued to offer the normal school kind of teacher training that the Institute had included from the start—educational philosophy, after all, was the field to which he had gravitated while in college, which he pursued in 1902-1903 during an intensive year's leave for graduate study at Harvard, and a subject which he taught at both schools. Under his guid-

ance in 1910-1911, the fledgling college hosted a training school that gave students the chance to observe operating classrooms and to get a feel for practical teaching.

Meanwhile, a notable percentage of former Elkhart or Goshen students continued their intellectual inquiry by pursuing advanced study at larger, prestigious universities. From 1898 forward, Byers won from a number of respected institutions, beginning with Northwestern, the agreement to accept Institute and later Goshen credits. The graduates creditably carried Goshen's name into their new settings. At the same time, Byers' own reputation as an Indiana educator was increasing. In 1908, Byers received correspondence from Christian B. Blosser, former Goshen student, who had taken up work in biology and zoology at Indiana University. Blosser, along with several fellow Goshen alumni, had lobbied the University's Robert J. Aley, Indiana's superintendent-elect of public instruction, to support Byers as a member of the State Board of Education to be appointed by Governor-elect Thomas R. Marshall. "We Goshen fellows. . .," Blosser wrote, "have decided that it would be a pretty *fine* thing for Goshen College (and Mr. Byers) to have one of its own faculty on the State Board of Education."⁶¹ Past Goshen pupil Abram M. Hess, studying education at Columbia University, wrote to Byers in the same year that his professors included John Dewey, the influential educational theorist. "It is a valuable part of a liberal education to live in New York a year," Hess added.⁶²

The high regard of Goshen's faculty for the power of liberal learning gave a gloss of high seriousness to lectures, assignments, and professor-student relationships difficult to imagine in today's more relaxed educational scene. If one believed the work of the teacher to be "the development of a human soul," as Byers once stated during an educational conference, then even in the daily grind of classes and routine drills, much was at stake.⁶³ Mary Miller, a long-time Hesston faculty member reflecting in 1959 on the early years of Hesston College, described perceptively the extraordinary discipline associated with college study during the early years of Mennonite colleges:

The scholarship bred in these pioneer years had in it a stoic quality belonging peculiarly to a bygone day. Perhaps such stamina had developed because the spending of hard-earned money for such a will-o-the-wisp as education was in Mennonite circles yet new and very serious; perhaps because education above the elementary grades was not then a general practice, the school consisted chiefly of older students and those who had strong intellectual drives. The difference in the curricular emphases no doubt played its part—the strenuous, objective, cultural nature of the course offerings of that day in contrast with the practical,

introspective, psychological slant of the education of our day that concerns itself primarily with the self and its advancement and with doing rather than being. Or perhaps persistent effort was more common then because children in the homes of that day were taught to accept long, disagreeable, and difficult tasks as a part of principled living.⁶⁴

Miller's suggestions illuminate nicely the committed Goshen students with whom N.E. Byers, C. Henry Smith, and the rest were attempting to establish a four-year college. Within this setting, the faculty's commitment to the liberal arts without doubt elevated significantly both the subject matter and tone of course offerings.

Simply the presence at the front of a classroom of one of Goshen's inquiring, young, attractive faculty members engaged students' attention. These men and women were walking advertisements for the distance one might go as a Mennonite scholar in the new age. An instructor's composed gaze, directed above a starched collar and crisply folded tie or a neat shirt-waist, spoke intelligence, sophistication, and success even before the professor spoke a word. One among the faculty at the dawn of the Goshen era, C. Henry Smith, who came to Goshen with a newly-minted master's degree from the University of Chicago, wrote later that the college had been fortunate to have on its faculty

no superannuated ministers nor outworn church workers. These young men were all fresh from college themselves, from such schools as Harvard, Northwestern, Chicago, Oberlin, and the University of Illinois. They had not yet outgrown their youthful enthusiasms. They were still eager students themselves and, consequently, inspiring teachers. . . .⁶⁵

Smith's description communicated the young faculty's strengths. It also conveyed, more than fifty years after Goshen's opening, the bravura tinged with elitism of these young Mennonites on the education track ("superannuated ministers nor outworn church workers" need not apply!). And why wouldn't this bunch consider themselves elect? Some of them had marched decked out in mortar board and gown among the highest class of university graduates. At Goshen they were given heady responsibilities: drawing up the college catalogue, improvising night-by-night preparations in subjects they had never expected to teach, practicing their eloquence before the student body from the chapel hall podium and influencing protégés. They were inventing themselves and their institution. "Humility was not one of our outstanding virtues as pioneer teachers," wrote Smith, adding pertinently, ". . . and could not be."⁶⁶ To students encountering such mentors for the first time, a bit of elitist bravura could only have enhanced the appeal.

Bible instructor and college secretary J.S. Hartzler was a notable exception to the dominant faculty type. Hartzler was in fact a minister and church worker, not yet superannuated nor outworn in 1903, though nearing fifty. His service to the institution from beginning to end was comprehensive. He had taken part in the preliminary discussions for Elkhart Institute and joined its teaching staff in the fall of 1895, moving from his home at the Amish Mennonite community of Hawpatch near Topeka, Indiana, to take up that work. He had solicited extensively to sell Institute stock and to attract Mennonite students. He had toiled with the Board committee to find a suitable new location. He was enough of a handyman to have been given in the summer of 1903 the oversight of the crews attempting the rapid construction of a "campus"—two buildings—out of the south Goshen wheat field. Hartzler pitched in on much of the labor. According to John Umble, Hartzler's activity during that frantic building siege was that of carpenter, mason, bricklayer, hod carrier, architect, contractor, and superintendent. At one juncture the harried Hartzler dismissed a tippling foreman who was unable to remain sober on the job.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Noah Byers was at Harvard, rounding out a year's study to complete a master's degree in philosophy and psychology.⁶⁸ By September 28, 1903, as the first students arrived on the new Goshen campus, Hartzler, C.K. Hostetler, and Byers too were all carrying boards out of the dining room in North Hall and sweeping aside blocks and shavings (*Record*, October 15, 1903).

As college secretary working with President Byers at Goshen, J.S. Hartzler, with business manager Hostetler, assumed a large share of responsibility for the school's financial burdens, responsibility which repeatedly placed him at the heart of college-church relations. In these endeavors, the plain-coated Hartzler bridged the old Institute to the new college, and bridged, in his own example, the lesser-educated, old-style model of minister with that of college administrator and Bible instructor. In addition to daily college duties, Hartzler became the first minister of the new College Church congregation. In photographs of various significant public events at Goshen, the sober figure of J.S. Hartzler typically appears in the background, looking worried. Hartzler seemed especially sensitive to the new college's standing in the eyes of communities and congregations far enough away from the campus to rely on reputation and hearsay to inform their views of the institution, rather than on any first-hand experience. J.S. Hartzler understood with a kind of political sixth sense that, telegraphed to a Mennonite community at a great distance from Goshen, Indiana, a subtle change of arrangement in female students' hair, or a laughably harmless photograph of student tomfoolery, could take on potent symbolic significance with ultimately serious consequences. From a June 1912 trip to the campus of Bethel College in Kansas, just as Byers was preparing to deliver Bethel's commencement address, Hartzler penned back to Byers that

at Bethel he had found greater simplicity in dress. "The hair are put up so as to have the covering to fit while with us the hair are put up to fit the styles . . . regardless of how the covering fits. . . . They are stricter in their discipline than we are at Goshen," Hartzler concluded plaintively. "A little more rigidity I believe would help us."⁶⁹ It might best be said that J.S. Hartzler, so often of fretful demeanor and tone, served the institution with loyal anxiety. But loyal anxiety proved an important anchor among more impatient colleagues given to flights of loyal optimism.

In several congregations, nevertheless, a visiting Goshen College representative such as J.S. Hartzler could expect to find warm encouragement rather than inquisitive suspicion. The Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation of Smithville, Ohio, for example, contributed to an extraordinary extent to the institution's development. Following 1898, a significant number of Institute faculty (and students) represented that congregation. The Oak Grove minister C.Z. Yoder had been appointed to the Elkhart Institute Association's Board of Trustees after the 1901 reorganization expanded that body to include members from Mennonite conferences outside Indiana. In December 1902, the *Institute Monthly* (edited by Board treasurer Christian K. Hostetler, also from Oak Grove) reported that large barrels of J.M. Smucker's apple butter sent from Orrville, Ohio, were being appreciated by students in the building's dining room—a pleasant foreshadowing, given the benefits Goshen College would one day receive from J.M.'s daughter and husband, Wilma Smucker and Harold C. Good. The *Institute Monthly* occasionally featured photographs of students grouped by home states; in 1903, the group representing Ohio, swelled by Oak Grove students, was so large they were forced to leave the photographer's studio and pose at the Institute.⁷⁰ C.Z. Yoder along with C.K. Hostetler helped locate the Goshen site, where Hostetler continued as business manager. From the Elkhart faculty to Goshen came Daniel S. Gerig, Ephraim J. Zook, and Jonathan M. Kurtz, all Oak Grove products. In 1907 they were joined by a slightly younger Oak Grove man, Boyd D. Smucker. In 1907-1908, fully half of Goshen College's faculty represented that congregation. Oak Grove's significant early support of Goshen College in funds, students, and faculty undoubtedly transfused some that congregationally-centered group's creative energy into the school's accomplishments and independent character.⁷¹

The new faculty in 1905 included English instructor Solomon F. Gingerich from Iowa, who had studied at the Elkhart Institute with the Class of 1900, taught there, and eventually added graduate training at Indiana University and the University of Michigan to his dossier. Gingerich opened students' eyes to English literature through his explications of the Romantic and Victorian poets, interpretations enlivened by Gingerich's experience one summer touring the English Lake District haunts of poet William Wordsworth. The poets Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning in 1905, one

must remember, had a contemporaneity for readers roughly equivalent to that held by modern poets W.B. Yeats, T.S. Eliot, and Robert Frost among today's readers. Quotations repeatedly cited in Gingerich's lectures, such as Tennyson's "Flower in the crannied wall. . .," or Browning's "Grow old along with me!", remained with students long beyond college years.⁷² In 1912, S.F. Gingerich left Goshen to accept a professorship in English at the University of Michigan, where he went on to produce a recognized critical work on Romantic poetry.

New faculty in the fall of 1907 included the singular figure of Boyd Smucker, named director of the School of Oratory. Smucker had attended Elkhart Institute, graduated in 1905 from Goshen College's School of Oratory, and from there journeyed to Pennsylvania to attend King's School of Oratory in Pittsburgh. In 1906-1907 Smucker served as a popular instructor and oratory coach at Pennsylvania's Waynesburg College. Testimonials by Byron W. King, president of the Pittsburgh school, and others acquainted with Smucker recommended him to Goshen's President Byers as a superb public speaker, impersonator, and entertainer, who brought to his work "culture and sane manhood."⁷³ He was likewise known in his home district of Wayne County, Ohio for dramatic readings. At Goshen, Smucker developed an oratory program not limited to public speech. The discipline called oratory in those years included aspects of what we today consider English study, since literary interpretation and English grammar were part of its curriculum. It also encompassed an area known as "physical culture," a variety of physical education not completely recognizable as such to late-twentieth century eyes. Beyond allowing for exercise, physical culture aimed to develop "strength, beauty, and grace" associated with personal fiber and upright character. Students who engaged in physical culture classes at the Elkhart Institute and very early Goshen, for example, wielded Indian clubs, wands, and dumbbells in the gymnasium as a means of attaining timing and poise in their everyday movement: a "habitually maintained freedom from awkwardness."⁷⁴ Boyd Smucker also emphasized the importance for the young of more spontaneous activity—play. Citing William James, Smucker identified play as a fundamental human instinct. "It is a law of life, obedience to which prepares for the serious occupations of maturity," he penned in a *Record* piece in October 1907. Thus the goals of oratory were a compelling platform voice, literary perceptiveness, and stature, the latter quality given both its physical and moral connotations. The darkly handsome, enigmatically smiling Smucker, with his chin held a bit higher than anyone else's, embodied for Goshen's aspiring orators one version of the ideal.⁷⁵

Inside physical culture classes and out, students at Goshen did play throughout its early years. The easy acceptance given intellectual inquiry at the new college was kin to a joyous freedom evident in extracurricular ac-

tivities: freedom to perform Handel's *Messiah* in a city chorus, smartly dressed in front of the impressive pipe organ at Goshen's First Methodist Episcopal Church; freedom to stroll downtown in sultry summer weather to the Chautauqua tents pitched in Goshen for a week's programs, or to the Rogers' Park band shell; freedom to ferry from the east bank of the Elkhart River to Blosser's Island amusement park—or simply to plunge right into the Elkhart River, in bloomers and bathsuits, for a coeducational swim. Student photograph albums, letters, and publications present the blithe college spirits and innocent merriment of the first years at Goshen in almost a prelapsarian light. Other testimony supports this notion of a Goshen grace period, roughly 1903 to 1913, when the college was industriously inventing itself, and church leaders more or less reserved judgment. The Mennonite Board of Education did not immediately upon its establishment in 1905 intervene restrictively in college policy and activities. Only after the founding of Hesston Academy and Bible School in Kansas in 1909, and Eastern Mennonite School in Virginia in 1917, could disapproving critics compare Goshen College's free-wheeling atmosphere to more conservative (Old) Mennonite models. Until then, Goshen more or less on its own terms had supplied the church's working definition of a Mennonite college. Sociologist Fred L. Kniss wrote in 1992 that the years between 1907 and the beginning of World War I, a period of "consolidation of authority," within the Mennonite Church were "relatively devoid of conflict." Mennonites' disorienting experiences in World War I, according to Kniss, unleashed the more frequent conflicts, often centered on Goshen College controversies, observed in the church between 1920 and 1924.

"In my day [i.e., his first two years at Goshen, 1903-1905]," C. Henry Smith evoked that nostalgic Eden,

. . . [the] faculty still had the full confidence of the board [i.e. the trustees of what was still called the Elkhart Institute Association]. There were no inquisitorial committees to sit in judgment on the views of the science teachers; there was no censorship of the books that went into the library. . . . The curriculum thus was as progressive and broad as that of any small college in the country, perhaps more so. . . .⁷⁶

That Smith remembered a liberal climate of thought at the time of the move to Goshen seems to be substantiated by more than nostalgic reverie. The same C. Henry Smith, for example, as instructor at the Elkhart Institute in 1900 had, apparently without inhibition or censure, furnished to the *Institute Monthly* an article on "The Language of the Bible," whose first paragraph proposed that "the form in which God's will is revealed to us must be the same as the form in which any other message comes to man," and whose final paragraph concluded in a matter-of-fact tone, "It won't do

to translate the Bible too literally. . . . In fact, I think that so far as we are concerned it doesn't matter so much whether all the Bible narratives were actual occurrences or not, just so we learn and apply their truths."⁷⁷ Twenty years later, no Goshen professor could have published those lines with the nonchalant assurance evident in Smith's article. Nor could a Goshen College catalogue of the 1920s have informed its readers with unself-conscious directness that "The library shelves are filled with the latest reference books on all the subjects taught," as had the Elkhart Institute catalogue for 1900-1901.

In a 1968 analysis of Mennonite higher education, Paton Yoder identified the essence of the early Goshen to be not so much unspoiled integrity as it was cultured, but problematic, naive. Articles published by President Byers and Goshen associates between 1909 and 1913, Yoder concluded,

reveal a rather profound belief in the liberal arts and their complete compatibility with the Christian faith, and a very pronounced hope, if not faith, that peace movements, the science of sociology, and the influence of education were coming to the aid of the church in bringing world peace. . . . Theories of learning were discussed with not even the remotest attempt to provide theological presuppositions and one article was entitled "Educators Can Bring Peace to the World."

Of Byers' own statements on education, Yoder wrote, "One searches in vain . . . for any effort to define, in depth, how liberal arts can be Christian."⁷⁸

One might also contemplate in this light a statement made in a letter of July 17, 1910, by the faithful, fretful J.S. Hartzler written while aboard the ocean liner the S.S. Niger, en route to Europe and the Holy Land. Emboldened, no doubt, by his considerable remove from campus, Hartzler, mindful of the "high wind" blowing outside, constructed a writing desk in his tiny cabin from a step ladder, pillow, and two drawers to be able to write in delicate terms (and nearly illegible penmanship) to Noah Byers on the question of public prayer on campus. "In the fifteen years that I have been connected with the school," Hartzler wrote Byers, "I do not think that at any one time was there a public prayer offered in the faculty meeting unless it was occasioned by the presence of some stranger and very few times then."⁷⁹

One must grant that a mark of the newly-born Goshen College was indeed its lack of a heightened religious self-consciousness. Byers had after all attended a Methodist university whose catalogue made it clear that Northwestern University was "not established with the view of forcing on the attention of students the creed of a particular church, but for the promotion of learning under Christian auspices. . . ."⁸⁰ Perhaps Byers saw himself operating at Goshen in a relatively similar vein, one of undisturbed, frankly

academic, purpose. Until Mennonite regional conferences began appointing trustees to a Board of Education in 1905, the Elkhart Institute Association governing the school really had no official organizational ties to the Mennonite Church, and appears to have left questions of managing the school's day-to-day business to the educators employed there. Certainly what is known about Byers' philosophy of education indicates a fundamental regard for independence of thought, a view some of his Goshen associates and pupils would continue to articulate—passionately—at Goshen College in the overt church-college conflicts of the 1920s.⁸¹ But at least some of the business he and his colleagues set about doing—conceiving and sponsoring the Intercollegiate Peace Conference held on campus in 1905, for instance, or active faculty participation in building up the College Mennonite congregation, or prescribing for the Goshen ethos the phrase “Culture for Service”—gave unmistakable Anabaptist-Mennonite signals.

The Christian assumptions under which the young Goshen faculty labored gave campus activity a consecrated religious purpose. Byers and company may have shown some blithe oblivion to the contradictions between Christianity and humanistic studies. But they could, and did, welcome the many compatible points in the two areas. The tone was set in Byers' inaugural address, part of the opening exercises held September 29, 1903, in the little white frame First Christian Church on Goshen's South Main Street (the construction of the Administration Building with its Assembly Hall was not yet completed). Byers entitled his speech “Culture for Service.” He had earlier paired the words on the June 13, 1902, occasion of an educational conference he had moderated at the Elkhart Institute. Fifty years later Byers wrote that the words that became Goshen's motto had been suggested by the inaugural theme of Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, “Scholarship for Service.” In speaking narrowly of education as scholarship, Byers felt, Butler had omitted “the whole personality,” whose “cultivation” for Christian service would be Goshen College's ideal.⁸² Byers would have originally encountered culture and service in Matthew Arnold's essay, “Culture and Anarchy,” a Victorian treatise written in 1869 that by Byers' college years had become standard currency in American university courses of philosophy or education. Arnold, on the pretext of inquiring simply into the nature of culture, had spun an extensive discourse on British education, class, and religion, in which he defended thought, and the classical philosophical tradition, against mere practicality and the scientific passion for knowing. In the essay's opening section where Arnold praised the “sweetness and light” afforded by true culture, the eminent Victorian had written,

Now, then, is the moment for culture to be of service, culture which believes in making reason and the will of God prevail,

believes in perfection, is the study and pursuit of perfection, and is no longer debarred, by a rigid invincible exclusion of whatever is new, from getting acceptance for its ideas, simply because they are new.⁸³

Byers in his addresses of 1902 and 1903 had other goals than to develop Arnold's intricate thesis, and as he said himself, had reacted to the narrowness of Butler's "Scholarship for Service." But in certain general ways, Byers' debt to Arnold is also evident.

Flanked at the 1902 Elkhart Institute conference by fellow participants C. Henry Smith, S.F. Gingerich, and M.S. Steiner, Byers had begun his comments with the sentence, "When I think of education I get into my mind these two words, culture and service." He had then gone on to outline points he repeated the following year in the inaugural address. The ideal education "cultures" ("trains" was a synonym Byers used in the later address) an individual's powers to their fullest. In other words, man's immersion in the right kind of culture perfects him, as much as perfection is humanly possible. Fullness of life brings him supreme happiness, and pleases God. Christian higher education, a distinct approach, leads a pupil to the next natural step, service to others. That service might in turn entail the act of developing in fellow human beings their full powers, that is, of leading others through education to a similar awakening. But it might also entail, of course, basic assistance to those living within circumstances too straitened to allow for leisurely immersion in high culture. Goshen College was accountable to both the Mennonite Church and the Goshen community, Byers said in his inaugural talk. The institution would be cultivated by those bodies, and serve them in turn. In both the 1902 and 1903 statements, Byers lifted up tolerance and co-operation among participants as essential to successful Christian education.⁸⁴ Byers concluded his relatively brief inaugural statement with the words, "Let our motto be, 'CULTURE FOR SERVICE,'"—and, indeed, Goshen's motto became "Culture for Service" through a faculty vote the following spring.

Further consecration to Goshen College's religious purpose was inspired by its equally new local congregation, College Mennonite Church. It was an unusual church. Here the normal tradition was reversed: instead of authoring a subsidiary educational institution, this congregation was begotten by a college, though the *Herald of Truth* report for September 17, 1903, announced its origin with the oblique explanation that several Mennonite families had recently moved into Goshen.⁸⁵ Like Goshen College—in fact, because of Goshen College—the young congregation blended experiment with tradition. From its start in the fall of 1903, it explicitly requested that it be a union congregation that would accommodate the Mennonite and Amish Mennonite personnel and students combined in the college's com-

munity. On October 26, 1904, the congregation was organized jointly under the Mennonite and Amish Mennonite Conferences. Byers took charge of the Sunday school; college-related members of both backgrounds served virtually all the positions. The reciprocity of college and congregation could not help but confer some sanctity on the life of the former, some scholarliness on that of the latter.

The YPCA activities, Lake Geneva retreats, and mission support that had added devotional stature to Institute academic work immediately picked up that function at Goshen. Students and faculty were reminded of some encompassing, providential design in the entire undertaking of making a college. Byers' own convictions in this matter surfaced pointedly twenty years hence. In April 1923, the eve of the Board of Education's decision to suspend college operations, Byers fired off a circular letter to Board members and conference ministers, in which he closed dramatically, "A minority with God and the right must succeed even if a few men must be sacrificed for the cause." Byers' final sentence rang nineteenth century changes on medieval expressions of honor and service—language reminiscent of Matthew Arnold that was generally drowned out in the din surrounding 1923.⁸⁶

Faculty and students of the former Elkhart Institute quickly developed strong loyalties to the Goshen school. The ease of the transfer was remarkable, since it was out of the question that the very early Goshen College could inspire school loyalty with ivy-covered walls, campus landmarks, or yearly rituals. In September 1903, the new campus barely had walls, let alone ivy. Curiously, however, Goshen College's very lack of reputation, monuments, and tradition seems to have inspired students' loyal devotion. Throughout the Byers years and beyond, the responsibility given faculty and students to outline a college on this blank slate of a campus created a fervent, proprietary loyalty to the institution.

One area in which Goshen loyalty early showed itself was in architectural additions to the new property. In 1904, the doughty boys of the Coming Men of America Debating Club (after 1908 known as the Adelphean Literary Society) raised funds for a fountain to be placed in front of the Administration Building. Within a year, members of the rival Aurora Society had erected the arched gateway facing Eighth Street. Those two early campus gifts, gateway and fountain, constituted important symbolic markers which have endured throughout the history of Goshen College. The gate defined a distinct, if largely undeveloped, college territory. The bubbling fountain implied perpetuity, renewal, and the desire for the aesthetic as well as the utilitarian. Naturally, some of the energy driving the literary societies' gifts flowed from inter-literary rivalries. Yet using those vehicles, students were building the college.

The independence Goshen College gained in its move from Elkhart also fostered loyalty. For one thing, the problematical close ties to the Prai-

rie Street Church were severed, since the college planted a new church when it arrived. Apparently the college also gained a hospitable new climate for reinventing itself in the smaller, but warmly welcoming county seat of Goshen. A prominent Elkhart citizen, sore over Elkhart's last-minute loss of the school to the neighboring town, condescendingly put "quiet" Goshen on a par with the tiny hamlets of Waterford Mills and New Paris to its south.⁸⁷ And there was no denying that in giving up its home in Elkhart, the college lost some sophistication of setting. An academic community in a quiet wheatfield at the last stop of the streetcar line, however, would quite possibly develop more cohesive traditions in its very isolation than had the school retained Elkhart's bustling urban backdrop.

In any case, students, faculty, and alumni from the start enjoyed a rapport rooted in their common experience at Goshen College. A cult of loyalty to one's institution fed the American collegiate spirit of the time, as witnessed in Smith's memory of Noah Byers and his purple-clad Northwestern cohorts, chanting their school's superiority on a Chicago train. American turn-of-the-century school songs, athletic events, and debate rallies were stylized displays of support for *alma mater*. Goshen mimicked the American collegiate cult of school spirit, to be sure. Students following those cues raised Goshen pennants of purple and white (whose hues, identical to the school colors of President Byers' *alma mater*, could hardly have been coincidental.)⁸⁸ "Goshen," the college song composed in 1911 after students demanded a new song for a new location, fulfilled a prescribed ritual of the tradition as well (though what emerged out of the collaborative efforts of M.E. Miller and J.D. Brunk in "Goshen College, ever singing. . . ." was original enough to reflect genuinely the spirit of the place.)⁸⁹ Young Goshen knew friendly competition in oratory, debate, and intercollegiate sports with midwestern denominational colleges like Mount Morris and Manchester.

Yet there was also a particular Goshen College chemistry, under whose influence students developed bonds distinctive to their Parkside *alma mater*. The Goshen chemistry involved, first, the self-selected group of people concentrated in the school's campus and environs. Like many of the early Mennonite missionaries who committed themselves to work far from home, the students who made their way to the still-exotic environment of college were drawn toward a less confining environment than that of their home setting, or at least of their home folks' habits. The Goshen chemistry also drew on students' and faculty members' common interest in enhancing the stature of Mennonite education. And it depended in some part on the college's chemical reagents: an outer circle of church leaders whose opinions on liberal arts training, astute as they were in many cases, for the most part did not reflect direct experience. If it was true that having their work come under fire intensified the missionaries' mystique and solidarity, one

could likewise observe that the gulf Goshen insiders perceived between their campus world and that of lesser-educated Mennonites strengthened their identification with the mother institution.

The association on a campus of like-minded Mennonite intellectuals and educators created a climate that was spiritually satisfying for the insiders as well as academically stimulating. But the Goshen climate did not affect outsiders in the same way, and could lead to misunderstanding. Seeming ephemera could take on great, enduring substance. Among students, for example, candid photography provided one means for commemorating events and friendships within the magic circle of their school. One student's developed prints might be posted at a central location to allow others to order reprints. The process helped perpetuate school spirit and loyalty, since a wide group thus shared the same images of college life, and because still photographs had a way of memorializing the chance occurrences of some occasion. Removed from the light of the magic circle, however, photographic images more than once betrayed the photographer's intentions. Insiders' photographs circulating outside the Goshen sphere gave rise to questions about exactly where the school's own loyalties lay. After pictures of two male students wearing athletic costumes made the rounds in the students' Virginia home community, the aggrieved field secretary J.S. Hartzler reported back to Byers that in Virginia, the report had gone out that Goshen students "run around outdoors with arms and legs bare." Now, Hartzler urgently wrote, Byers had to tell the boys "they can run with overalls nearly or quite as well as with bath suits."⁹⁰ The evidence of college life found in the *Record* or in the annuals *Reflector* and *Maple Leaf* renewed fond devotion among alumni. But the same documents, read by other Mennonites, often widened the gulf between them and Goshen alumni. And the Goshen supporters, for their part, did not succeed unilaterally in bridging that gulf; the intense loyalty given to their educational institution could persuade the initiated to behave as if Mennonites not associated with the college simply awaited enlightenment.

In 1905, the granting of ultimate authority over Goshen College to a Mennonite Board of Education brought together junior and senior groups of leadership within the Mennonite Church that ran on parallel tracks in the same energetic, faithful movement. On the whole, the ministers or deacons elected to the new Board of Education were not sheltered, ignorant church members unaware that America had left the nineteenth century. These conference representatives, by contrast, were typically go-getting congregational leaders formed in the first wave of accelerated Mennonite Church activity. The new Mennonite world in which they had matured and become leaders was one of burgeoning organization. New Mennonite organizations required their own stationary letterheads, voluminous bureaucratic correspondence, and the perpetual taking of minutes. The trap-

pings of the organized Mennonite Church definitely took these men beyond the narrow scope of farm prices, home life, and church services. It was a busy world. Train travel to committee meetings figured frequently. The business executed at this meeting or that, in Kitchener (then called Berlin), Ontario, or Middlebury, Indiana, put the names of these energetic participants into the columns of the *Herald of Truth*, and thus under the eyes of readers all across the denomination. All of this busyness found its justification in the work of an expanding Church. The first leaders of the organized Mennonite Church were important men whose communities accorded them elite status.

A second echelon of leaders in church education naturally begged comparison to the first tier of established congregational leaders typically drawn on to fill board positions. Most representatives of the conferences on the board had ministerial or teaching experience rather than scholarly training. Many had at least one foot in farming, and knew German and its Pennsylvania Dutch dialect. Their memory texts were Scripture. They had mastered many skills necessary in the organizational world which might be called the mechanics of meetings: parliamentary procedure, a knowledge of the hierarchies of responsibility, a familiarity with the arcane workings of proxies, closed sessions, and executive committees.

But the board members' Goshen College counterparts, or most of them, located their identity in their academic accomplishments above anything done in their former church community. They constituted a second group of leaders. Some were ministers, yet these were *professor*-ministers. German had lost out as a first or even second language among many of them, except perhaps in dialect jokes, made humorous because they lampooned "backward" language; one historian described Mennonite college students as busy "purging 'Dutch' accents from their tongues as eagerly as they scraped farmyard dirt from their shoes."⁹¹ The college types were strong on philosophies and theories, on "schools of thought" organized by some coiner of intellectual currency like William James. Like the conference representatives, they could write business correspondence and take minutes and quote the Bible, but the college group had a broader communicative repertoire: they might enhance their oratory with practiced gestures, insert a French phrase into their discourse, allude to a popular song, or quote new memory texts from Sophocles, Shakespeare, or Emerson. There could be an ill-defined sense of irony in their statements that was intimidating, at times even within their own ranks; an observer of Noah Byers wrote in 1945, "The uncertainty that behind his friendly counsel and genial humor there might not lurk also biting sarcasm, discouraged [students from] risking a second violation of a rule."⁹² The conversation between the college ironists on one hand, and scriptural literalists on the other, was not always harmonious.

Though their common values and reserves of goodwill were potentially vast, there was no mistaking that, in Mennonites' famous triumph over slumber at the turn of the century, the Church had spawned two competing elites. Different as these two groups were, neither had failed to pick up political strategy. The two groups' mutual attention to educational issues following 1913, the end of Byers' presidency, would, not surprisingly, detour at times over questions of authority and status.

However, between 1905 and 1913, before the Board of Education had become as deeply involved in college affairs as it would in following years, the college's administration, faculty and students continued to lay Goshen College's foundations. The motto "Culture for Service" captured much of what they established. Byers, Smith, and the others persistently elevated the standards of the curriculum and thus the college's standing in the eyes of graduate institutions. It was becoming possible to identify and groom Goshen's future teachers among the strong students destined after graduation for Indiana University, University of Pennsylvania, or Garrett Theological Seminary. There was a seriousness about Byers and his reputation that elevated the campus's view of education's power and purpose. Professors had students' respect and yet might serve the informal function of preceptor or spiritual counsellor. Each student's religious development, rather than being set aside for scheduled meetings, wove itself through campus life. The president and his colleagues provided models for adult Christian service in the numerous responsibilities they accepted in guiding the life of the College congregation and in writing for church periodicals. Faculty families made their homes along Seventh or Eighth Streets and sought each other's professional and social company (bachelor professor C. Henry Smith boarded with the Byers family and planned policy with the president over breakfast coffee).⁹³ Students took innocent joy in beauty, culture, tennis, and the pure fun of silly outings. Running through all of the activity was the motif of mission, of translating joy into service. The one-time mission volunteer Byers—erudite, sensitive, elegant—presided over this entire dynamic panorama of Goshen life. Some details in the scene excited outsiders' criticism. But within the frame of reference he and his colleagues had constructed for Goshen College, Byers held things together. "We do not wish to stop with an aristocracy of cultivated parasites," he stated in one of his last speeches as president, "but wish rather to give aid in using the fully developed powers in the most effective manner in the behalf of a needy society" (*Record*, June 1913).

Originally intending to cure the sick on the foreign field, Byers had instead found his mission developing the fledgling Elkhart Institute into a self-confident Goshen College. The strides the college made in ten years at Goshen under Byers' guidance outpaced what one might have expected of a young school in any circumstances. That Byers had covered the distance

in co-operation with an ambivalent church seemed to promise a bright future for Mennonite education.

Goshen's ten-year anniversary celebrations in 1913 did promise, on many levels, that Goshen's program was healthy on its own terms. However, the 1913 anniversary year also marked the passage by College, Board of Education, and Church out of an atmosphere of cooperative collaboration into one of combative misunderstanding. Even as Goshen College began to celebrate its remarkable first ten years during commencement week of 1913, Byers had concluded shrewdly that the educational climate in northern Indiana was changing, and would no longer comfortably accommodate his services. The college's closest scrutiny came not from the Board of Education but from the Indiana-Michigan Conference's ministers, into whose district the new College congregation had landed. C. Henry Smith, remembering the early pressures faculty felt from the local conference, described arriving at church one Sunday morning "just in time to hear President Byers confess to the meeting for the sin of judging an educational exhibit at the county fair the week before."⁹⁴

There were increasing signs of discontent among conservative observers of the college. Byers had begun to wear the plain coat in 1910, but the president's overnight adoption of that symbol, juxtaposed against his neatly-trimmed Vandyke beard and mildly ironic facial expression, must have struck everyone involved as an awkward transposition. Oral tradition has maintained that the Board of Education, expressing its interest in having an ordained president, nevertheless declined to pursue a suggestion by N.E. Byers that he, the incumbent, be ordained.⁹⁵ The appointment by the Board early in 1913 of a committee to "hire a president for Goshen College," combined with the tip-off to Byers by an indignant Paul Whitmer that the Board had secretly approached him about taking over his friend's job, sent the incumbent president unambiguous signals.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the project to develop an inter-Mennonite seminary and college at the small Central Mennonite College in Bluffton, Ohio, interested him.

On May 26, 1913, Byers tendered his resignation to the board, though his decision was not immediately announced. He participated in the college's ten-year anniversary events and in commencement, even though by early June rumors of his resignation had gotten out. C. Henry Smith, who had been made Goshen College's first dean in 1909, and Professor Boyd D. Smucker followed Byers' lead in resigning their positions at Goshen; like Byers, they would accept positions at Bluffton College. Byers and Smith urged the Oberlin-trained Bible and English professor, Paul E. Whitmer, to accompany them to Bluffton. Though Whitmer initially accepted their invitation, he relented after D.S. Gerig with a group of nine or so of the older Goshen faculty came to Whitmer's home to persuade him to assume Smith's responsibilities as Goshen's dean.⁹⁷ In the June Educa-

tion section of the *Christian Monitor*, Byers reprinted "The Spirit of Progress," headed by an editorial he titled "John S. Coffman, Foster Father of Elkhart Institute"—a valedictory tribute to John S. Coffman's vision published in the month Byers bid Goshen good-bye.⁹⁸

The task of weathering a changing climate which Byers had found inhospitable now fell to Goshen College's new president, a thirty-four-year-old alumnus named John Ellsworth Hartzler. Evangelist, pastor, and writer, J.E. Hartzler had become Dean of Goshen's Bible department in 1911. Hartzler's characteristic largess of expression found its way into his first presidential utterance, his October 1913 inaugural address. When the new president declaimed before the audience crowding Assembly Hall, "Let the college man be a man of the world, but let his world be a world of all time, of all lands, and of all sorts and conditions of man," (*Record*, November 1913), his words hung like storm clouds over the coming days.



Chapter Three

DELICATE BALANCE

THE COMMUNITY OF FAITH AND THE WORLD OF KNOWLEDGE 1913-1923

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

— Tennyson, “Ulysses”

On the evening of August 7, 1914, the Goshen Choral Society gathered on the Goshen College campus to dramatize Handel’s sacred cantata, “Saul.” Organized to “promote the better type of music,” the Society’s members consisted of some fifty singers drawn from Goshen College and from the Goshen area communities. “To more faithfully interpret the story to the audience, the entire production was memorized and given on the campus lawn,” commented the Goshen College *Record* in its July-August 1914 issue. “With its setting here amidst the background of trees and shrubbery and under the starlit sky the story was beautifully interpreted by the able chorus of singers.”

On the sultry August day of the performance, the Paschal Studio of downtown Goshen sent a photographer to campus to snap a picture of the assembled company. Barefoot and garbed in Old Testament dress, most of the “Saul” performers were Goshen students, including Orie, Ernest, and Trueman Miller, children of a local Mennonite bishop and Board of Education member, D.D. Miller. The women performers had unpinned their hair, tied sashes around their foreheads and waists, and strung beads around their necks. The men, impersonating Philistine and Israeli foot soldiers, each held a spear.

The director of the Goshen Choral Society, Alvin J. (“Ajax”) Miller, was a member of a near-legendary Goshen College men’s ensemble, The Ram-

bler Quartet, and in 1914 a summer instructor at Goshen College. The cantata's soloists included noted vocalists from Goshen, Elkhart, and South Bend, and two accomplished Goshen College tenors, the golden-voiced Leland Greenwalt (another member of the Ramblers), and a recent alumnus from Illinois, Walter Yoder. The Witch of Endor (Ruth Steffey) and her two witch assistants had attired themselves spookily in black gowns and pointed caps. A group of young girls played "Damsels." A local pianist, Mrs. M.C. Dow, with the assistance of a small orchestra, accompanied the chorus. "One of the greatest musical successes ever given in Goshen by a local organization," declared the *Daily Democrat* after the performance.¹

The view preserved by the Paschal Studio photograph—an expanse of students smiling out from flowing tresses and rows of spears—illustrates the buoyant spirits and cultural freedom of Goshen College at the time. But it also reveals the uncertain expressions crossing the faces of the cantata's faculty organizers, posing stiffly, and out of costume, on folding chairs in front of the students' carefree throng.² Poised as it is midway in time between 1903, when the Elkhart Institute moved to Goshen, and the college's temporary closing, in 1923-23, the Paschal portrait captures an emblematic moment from a milieu that would shortly be spoken of as bygone—the "Old" Goshen College. Somehow the 1914 photograph of Goshen College's "Saul" hints at cultural triumph, and an impending day of reckoning, all in one image.³

The years between 1913 and 1923 at Goshen College invite special attention because, like the "Saul" photograph, their legacy can appear contradictory. The college in this period distinguished itself in academic merit, high-minded religious ideals, and effervescent joy. Yet the same decade at Goshen College gave rise to controversy, mistrust, and sorrow. The decade that culminated with "Old" Goshen College's 1923 closing requires later generations to ponder both the beauty of its liveliness, and the wisdom of its liberties.⁴

One key to understanding Old Goshen's internal contradictions is J.E. Hartzler, the man chosen by the Board of Education as Goshen's president following President Byers' 1913 resignation. Hartzler had grown up as a farm boy in East Lynne, Missouri. At age sixteen, he accepted Christ during evangelizing meetings conducted in the Bethel Mennonite congregation by A.D. Wenger, the future president of Eastern Mennonite School, whose swallow-tail coat and colorful necktie, Hartzler wrote at the end of his life, appealed to him. Hartzler had also heard J.S. Coffman speak and credited Coffman with inspiring him to become a preacher. He left his parents' home to attend the Elkhart Institute and Goshen College. In 1910, Hartzler received the first bachelor's degree issued by Goshen College, having in the meantime added course work at Chicago's McCormick Theological Seminary. He conducted further study at Union Theological Seminary in New

York in 1909-1910, then served the Elkhart Prairie Street Church as pastor for three years. In 1911, Hartzler was invited to become Dean of the Bible Department at Goshen College.⁵

At the time of Hartzler's 1911 hiring as a professor, he was known in the church as an effective, even electrifying, young evangelical preacher. He commanded public attention naturally and committed himself to the ministry at an early age. In 1954, in fact, Hartzler confessed from the podium to his Elkhart Institute principal Noah Byers, who sat on the platform with him at an anniversary program, that as a student he used to slip away from studies to practice preaching on downtown Elkhart street corners.⁶ A 1910 collection of Hartzler's sermons, entitled *Paths to Perdition*, gives an idea of his early themes. The sermons addressed the sins of lodge membership, saloon and dance hall patronage, and "the modern tobacco evil." In one published sermon, Hartzler even offered an analysis of the lurid depravities of "white slavery," or enforced prostitution.⁷ Fellow Missourian and mentor Daniel Kauffman of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, introduced the book. During this period J.E. Hartzler made a broad name for himself as a "fire and brimstone" preacher of the fearful Gospel, whose strapping physical stature, booming voice, and overwrought gestures dramatically served his message.⁸

By the time he was made college president in 1913, Hartzler also enjoyed credibility as an interpreter of Mennonite doctrine. At editor Daniel Kauffman's invitation, he authored the chapter on salvation that appeared in the authoritative, revised 1914 version of Kauffman's 1898 *Manual of Bible Doctrine*. The Board of Education, furthermore, had approved Hartzler as Bible School dean, and, two years later, as an acceptable successor to the almost unnervingly self-composed intellectual, Noah Byers. But around the same time, due in part to a general backlash of opinion against headlong progressivism, doubts arose and spread among church leaders concerning, not Hartzler the gifted evangelist and preacher, but Hartzler the public man, biblical scholar, and, most vexing to some, Union Theological Seminary graduate.

Contributing to changing perceptions of Hartzler were what one might call reckless aspects of his personality. His schoolmates knew his voluble side; in 1903 a "Notes and Personals" writer for the new monthly *Goshen College Record* had chattered that Hartzler had taken up summer residence at Hawpatch (near Topeka), "where he is employed as painter. Rest assured that J.E. can put it on" (September 1903). His flamboyance of expression, paired with his weakness for the impolitic, could cloud basically sound motives and sincere intent. Take, for example, President Hartzler's inability on New Year's Day in 1916 to resist scribbling "Smile!" at the bottom of a fund-raising circular addressed to D.D. Miller, a bishop of markedly somber mien.⁹ This extravagant side of J.E. Hartzler revealed itself in portions

of his October 1913 inaugural speech. In the press of the ensuing years at Goshen College, an individual facet of character could increasingly overtake, and be accepted as, the whole man.

Hartzler's inaugural speech ushered in no immediate tempests of controversy. In fact, Goshen College carried forward from the inauguration a robust optimism that, on some level, sustained the institution through the remainder of a difficult decade. The period prior to Goshen's 1923-1924 closing strikes today's observer with its modernity, its quality of progressive elation. A fund-raising slogan promoted shortly after Hartzler took office, for example, promised "A bigger and better Goshen College." One could hardly invent a figure better suited to enunciate that slogan than the towering, passionate Hartzler. But a fully-rounded portrait of Old Goshen has to come to terms not only with its expansive optimism, but with the substantial concern it engendered in the broader Mennonite Church.¹⁰

The "Saul" production of 1914 occurred at what was in a number of respects a transitional moment. The Byers and Smith era had officially ended with those men's resignation a year before, an event which perplexed and even offended a campus community whose majority supported their work. There remained even so at Goshen numerous faculty colleagues, and many students, who retained bonds of personal admiration for the departed "masters," as the 1911 college song had referred to Goshen faculty. President Hartzler himself had been a Byers protégé. At the same time, Hartzler was promoting growth and change. Ambitious plans had been drawn up with a view toward transforming the campus and curriculum, and to be able to pay for it handsomely. In March 1914, the Board of Education had purchased a sixty-acre college farm east of campus, an experimental station for a new program of agricultural science. The same spring of 1914, final plans came together for building a new science hall, a project eventually completed in the summer of 1916. As an educational facility, Science Hall supplied great advantages to a growing student body and curriculum. But its construction contributed to a serious college debt, only belatedly revealed in early 1918. An entire nation was required, in the midst of its progressive elation, to confront political reality in the summer of 1914; war had been declared in Europe a few days before the "Saul" performance. The whole world was changing.

"Transitional" would also describe the quality of the relationship between Goshen College and the Mennonite Board of Education, an institution eight years old to the college's nineteen at the beginning of President Hartzler's term. In their earliest years of work together, the board and Goshen College seem to have enjoyed friendly co-operation. A good example of that harmony would be the annual meeting held at Goshen on June 17, 1911. The Religious Welfare Committee reporting at this meeting spoke in favor of mutual trust and confidence, a spirit of kindness, mutual sympathy

and submission among those in the educational work, and discouraged any spirit of antagonism and unfriendly feeling.

True, a good deal of the substance of this meeting seems to have anticipated what would become standard board agenda: establishing restrictive guidelines for faculty and student behavior (no patronizing of pool rooms, circuses, or theaters, for example), and outlining acceptable doctrinal positions (such as the need for sisters to wear prayer coverings on all religious occasions). But as an indication of the effort given to mutual understanding between board and school personnel, the minutes for this early meeting show that the discussion also emphasized the faith principles underlying the recommended behavior, such as consecration, humility, and peace with God—principles which college representatives would have recognized as consistent with the original Coffman idealism.

The Religious Welfare Committee's charge to the faculty on that occasion in 1911 was "to take no uncertain position on any and all of these questions, *and without making hobbies of any of them*, these things should be unhesitatingly taught" (emphasis added). The clause exempting faculty from making "hobby horses" of the doctrinal questions hints at some meeting of board and college minds, in the interests of balancing respect for doctrine with academic freedom. At the conclusion of the minutes of June 17, 1911, board secretary J.S. Hartzler penned, "It is doubtful whether there ever was a meeting of this Board when a warmer feeling existed between the college faculty and the Board. . . . May this meeting be fruitful for much good."¹¹ But the commonality that was apparently able to exist between the two sides did not endure, and had perhaps been provisional even in 1911. Less than a year following the expressions of concord at that meeting, after all, came the board Executive Committee's secret efforts to replace President Byers with Paul Whitmer; by 1913, Byers had removed himself from the presidency. As the college grew further into its own identity as an educational center, and the board responded to an increasingly ecclesiastical emphasis in Mennonite affairs, it began to seem as if the two sides had derailed from an original common purpose. That these tracks can now be seen as having often run in parallel, if not identical, directions, is a perspective unfortunately more available to today's analysis than to the travelers at the time, caught as they were in the heated midst of their pursuits.

In the midst of the church's continuing excitement about carrying the Gospel to cities and empires outside the Mennonite sphere, some were remembering that the Elkhart Institute itself had originally been promoted as a type of rescue mission, a place where the church's own restless and potentially wayward youth could avoid the snare of other denominations or of outright worldliness. As the years progressed and the Institute moved to Goshen, a gradual shift in perception on the part of some church officials prompted them to view the school no longer as a missionary agent but

as a prospective recipient of missionary efforts. In 1918, for example, furloughed missionary George J. Lapp was prevailed upon to delay returning to his India work in order to fill a sudden vacancy in the Goshen president's office. The Secretary of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Joseph S. Shoemaker, assured the homesick Lapp that the position at Goshen was also "distinctly *missionary*." He would help prepare youth for "active *mission* work," one classic justification for Mennonite higher education. But Lapp's most crucial evangelical opportunity at Goshen, as Shoemaker saw it, would be to reform a lapsed institution. If Lapp could make the school what the church feels it ought to be, Shoemaker wrote, "you will be performing a MISSION second to none."¹² Thus by 1918, Goshen College's mission identities included outreach to the wavering loyalty of its own young people, the church's foremost missionary training center, and, in the eyes of certain observers, a benighted domain in need of missionary attention itself.

Board and college business for the years 1914-1916, for example, illustrates the degree to which differing viewpoints on the educational question had begun to transform the image of the church and school relationship from one of collaborators into one of factions. Around 1914, the board's Religious Welfare Committee began to use the word "safeguard" to describe the school's responsibility to students—an echo, perhaps, of the "New Church-School Proposition" published in the *Gospel Herald* in April 1913, in which proponents of a conservative school envisioned at Warwick, Virginia, declared their mission to be "providing for the safeguarding of the student life of our young people."¹³ John S. Coffman and subsequent Goshen leaders had envisioned that Mennonite education would appeal to youth's need to know more; now the board counseled the college to protect students from knowing too much. Church, board, and college had not abandoned their heartfelt concern for young people's well-being. But the new stress placed on education as safeguarding students represented a notion of Christian pedagogy alien to educators reared in the Old Goshen tradition.

The formation of new committees by the Board in these years suggests the greater need board members felt to satisfy the church's misgivings about education in general, and a Goshen education in particular. In its October 1914 meeting, the board formed a Textbook Committee for monitoring instructional and library materials, as well as a Committee on Problems of the Church and the Schools. Sometimes the proliferation of committees exceeded the demand for them. For instance, the latter "Problems" committee, established alongside an existing Religious Welfare Committee and given the identical chairman, Daniel Kauffman, volunteered little in the way of a report when the board reconvened the following year.

The textbook committee was charged with examining books in “all studies in which unscriptural doctrine is liable to be taught,” to provide the schools with a prescriptive list of approved text and reference books, and to comb the libraries of Hesston and Goshen for objectionable material. These assignments were of course impossible, in any exhaustive sense. Yet Christian Fundamentalism, a movement gaining influence among various Protestant denominations, warned against the insidious advances of “modernism”—a term as broad as “conservatism,” by which its critics implied an acceptance of the historical methods of biblical criticism, an openness to Darwinian evolutionary theory, and an expectation that social problems could be ameliorated by humanistic means. Denominations less sectarian than the Mennonite Church were erecting Fundamentalist defenses against modernism in their colleges and seminaries. To some Mennonite leaders, who had seen their own denomination adopt many new practices in recent years, a stricter regulation of textbooks and reading material in the colleges seemed like one way to control the church’s rate of change.¹⁴ A textbook particularly targeted for criticism was William Newton Clarke’s *Christian Theology*, which had been used in Goshen classrooms under Byers’ presidency but which J.E. Hartzler himself claimed to have “thrown out” of the Bible department in 1912.¹⁵

The official attention devoted to doctrine, to unsuitable textbooks and authors, to lists defining acceptable reading, and to the project of purging school libraries, reflected the general preoccupation with texts and their power in the church at the time.¹⁶ The year 1914, for instance, saw the appearance of the revised edition of Daniel Kauffman’s *Manual of Bible Doctrine*, generally treated, next to Scripture, as a final word on Mennonite thought and life. A new chapter on the Bible in the manual, authored by a Hesston College faculty member, Jacob B. Smith, spoke in Protestant Fundamentalist terms of the “plenary and verbal inspiration” of Scripture—another area in which Mennonites were becoming self-conscious about language that naturally impinged on questions of college Bible instruction.¹⁷ Meanwhile, college administrators and faculty around 1914-1916 were coming to their own terms with the tests of orthodoxy being established. The formation of Hesston College in 1909 had provided Goshen’s critics with a convenient conservative point of comparison; from 1914 on, the newly reorganized Bluffton College, boasting Goshen’s former brain trust of Byers and C. Henry Smith, made Goshen’s adherents aware of a compelling competitor that was free to pursue its program outside the reach of the Mennonite Board of Education.

Steady criticism of the school—sometimes addressed to the board or conference ministers, rather than directly to the offending college parties—fostered defensiveness among the Goshen people, especially as outsiders began automatically to associate Mennonite liberalism with Goshen College.

The previous complaints about bare-armed student sportsmen, frivolous humor in the *Reflector* or early *Maple Leaf*, or works of modern fiction on library shelves were now being joined by wholesale attacks on the character of the college. The young school's failures to meet church expectations, formerly treated by critics as blemishes on a basically healthy frame, were increasingly attributed to an unsound Goshen College as such, as if the institution itself were diseased. After 1913, it seemed that church leaders were finally probing, and questioning, Christian humanistic assumptions unapologetically shared among faculty and students at the college during the Noah Byers era. An engagement by a range of Mennonite thinkers with the difficult questions posed by bringing the liberal arts into a sectarian Christian setting undoubtably would have served the institution and its constituents well. But most Goshen College critics after 1913 gave themselves more readily to anxiety over the vaguely-defined threat of modernism—an all-purpose bogeyman brought to Mennonites' attention mainly by the literature of Protestant Fundamentalism—than they did to more particular, pertinent questions about Mennonite acculturation that might profitably have been raised at this time. Such questions about Mennonite acculturation were actually as much church as college issues. But they were being lost in a general, often sloppily-conducted national debate about modernism, fundamentalism, liberalism, and so forth, to which Mennonites nervously felt themselves accountable.

Certain Goshen individuals had become lightening rods for criticism—criticism invited at times by provocative statements or behavior, but other times generated simply by a gathering momentum of suspicion among church leaders. Former president Noah Byers continued to be linked with Goshen's liberal "taint," even though Byers' current affiliation with Bluffton College was often cited as the proof of his liberalism. President J.E. Hartzler, especially, seemed both susceptible to unfair representations of his views and integrity, while at the same time prone in imprudent ways to advance his liberal reputation. By late summer 1914, less than a year after his inauguration, Hartzler was wearying, for example, of the wholesale modernist's reputation merely his attendance at Union Seminary had imputed. Drafting a letter to Daniel Kauffman, whose friendship with Hartzler later cooled but who at this point was still a confidant, Hartzler expressed his frustration over men who leveled serious attacks on the soundness of his beliefs, even as they insisted that the criticism was "nothing personal." Kauffman's calming response of September 22 acknowledged heated tempers on all sides: "This word will do to pass around: 'Keep off your fighting clothes.' The ways of peace are far better."¹⁸

But it was difficult to apply Kauffman's sensible advice as sensibilities grew more agitated. At the August 1915 board meeting in Archbold, Ohio, Dean Paul E. Whitmer called for the formation of yet another committee,

this one to investigate and correct printed charges being circulated that impugned the loyalty and orthodoxy of Goshen faculty and students. The committee, consisting of Aaron Loucks, J.S. Shoemaker, and A.I. Yoder, set about its task, looking especially into claims made about Goshen's problems by George R. Brunk of Denbigh, Virginia, John H. Mosemann Sr. of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and John Horsch of Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Had Paul Whitmer attended the board meeting at Goshen the following year, in October 1916, he would have seen that his efforts to bring public accountability to what the college viewed as unjust attacks, had resulted instead in a fuller conviction on the board's part that, indeed, Goshen needed discipline. While voicing mild disapproval of the critics' methods, the committee much more forcefully granted credence to their message. There were grounds for Horsch's statements that Goshen failed to safeguard its students, the committee reported. They could not substantiate charges against Brunk that he had misrepresented or falsified the Goshen state of affairs. "Brother Mosemann had sufficient reasons," they believed, "for expressing his fears . . . that there was something wrong at Goshen College."¹⁹

Dean Paul Whitmer had resigned from the faculty in August 1916, two months before the board reported the results of its investigation. He had become convinced during the summer of the board's declining support for the college point of view, especially on matters of dress. Whitmer's departure, and the board's reluctance to defend Goshen College against its most extreme critics, signaled "something wrong" to those on the college side of the table, as well.

The years 1917 and 1918 brought to bear on the Mennonite world conditions unfavorable, as it happened, to fence-mending between a Board of Education ever more sensitive to the denomination's demands for orthodoxy, and a Goshen College whose focus remained steadfastly—even stubbornly—pedagogical.

This backdrop included the foundation in 1917 of the pointedly conservative Virginia school, Eastern Mennonite, a frank response to Goshen's failure as a "safeguard." Then the United States' entry into the First World War suddenly thrust front and center the fundamental Mennonite challenges of conscription and conscientious objection, with young men forced to examine their convictions in the setting of army training grounds like Camp Sherman, Camp Cody, and Camp Lee.

In 1918, the controversial Mennonite initiative to collaborate with the Society of Friends and American Relief Commission in post-war reconstruction, taken by the gifted alumni leaders J.C. Meyer and Orie B. Gerig, among others, was born both of camp experience and a post-graduate imperative of "Culture for Service." In the case of Orie "Ben" Gerig, work in France opened the way for an extraordinary career, an example of how one of the brightest, most capable young persons among those concentrated at Go-

shen College during this period developed professionally, choosing to do so independently of Mennonite Church institutions. Son of Bishop J.S. Gerig of the Oak Grove Congregation in Smithville, Ohio, Orie B. Gerig graduated from Goshen College in 1917. Less ambivalent on the issues and more outspoken than most of his Goshen contemporaries, Gerig as a young alumnus forthrightly expressed opposition to the trend he perceived in the Mennonite Church toward "literalism" and entrenched leadership.

Among the many examples of illustrious Goshen College alumni, Gerig's story is unusual in that he made a long, successful career of high-level government service. He acknowledged later as fortunate his early decision to forego work with a Mennonite organization in favor of the ambitious career he eventually pursued, since under Mission Board supervision, he reflected, he would, "in all conscience, have had to break with them" eventually.²⁰ Following relief work in France, Gerig took graduate training in history at Harvard University and went on to the University of Geneva to obtain a degree in international studies—a field not even available for study in the United States at that time. He concentrated particularly on peace problems. By 1930, Gerig had become a member of the information section of the secretariat of the League of Nations, and worked there for ten years. In 1942, he joined the U.S. State Department, becoming associate chief of the Division of International Organization Affairs, where, among other duties, he was involved in the organization of the United Nations.

The progressive suggestions for church reforms issued by Orie B. Gerig and the other young American Friends Service Committee workers at a June 1919 Young People's Conference held in France confirmed anew for wary observers Goshen College's propensity to "hatch out Church rebels."²¹ In this period as well, Scottdale-based Mennonite historical scholar John Horsch turned his attention to exposing the stealthy advance of theological modernism in American culture.

The year 1918 also brought the resignations of President J.E. Hartzler and his assistant J.S. Hartzler, who over his long career of building the institution had served in a variety of administrative roles on the board and in the college. The two men resigned after the full extent of the college's indebtedness—over \$150,000—became known to the board at the end of 1917. The debt had been accumulating over a number of years. President Hartzler, with J.S. Hartzler's assistance, had been working strenuously to build up the college endowment and to create special funds that would support college projects. But various circumstances conspired to prevent their ultimate success.

By the summer of 1914, President Hartzler's visionary expansion of the college program, in the forms of a college farm and a new Science Hall, had required similarly expansive fund-raising schemes. Hartzler determined to cast the fund-raising net wide, to solicit among Mennonites and to por-

tray in a sympathetic light Goshen College's attributes and needs to the non-Mennonite world (he even wrote, unsuccessfully, to the Ford Motor Company in hopes that Henry Ford's interest in peace education would somehow yield a roadster for use in the interests of the college).²² But Hartzler's broad fund-raising approach displeased a number of observers in the church, to whom the progressive educational promises made to "worldly" benefactors, on the one hand, appeared to undercut the college's distinctly Mennonite identity that Hartzler depicted before congregations. For Goshen's survival as a Mennonite-owned institution, the fundamental question was whether Mennonites would continue to support the college freely with students and funds.

In 1917, both J.E. and J.S. Hartzler knew better than the board how urgently the college required fund-raising efforts. The Mennonite Board of Education owned the school. But due to the reticence of some members of the board to give wholehearted support to the college's programs or to certain faculty, that body did not actively busy itself with the college's financial health. Hartzler and Hartzler, the two men who between 1913 and 1918 had their eyes and hands on the college's operating funds, felt themselves to be running the institution under near-impossible conditions, managing between an ambivalent, or even indifferent, board on the one hand, and the college's hungry creditors on the other—"the devil on one side," as President Hartzler wrote a correspondent, "and the deep sea on the other."²³ Even close allies in the cause of keeping Goshen afloat could lose patience. In 1916, the manager of the dining hall, J.E. Brunk, resigned "because bills were coming in and there was no money to pay them."²⁴ President Hartzler's staff frequently consulted his wife, Mamie Yoder Hartzler, on administrative details during his many canvassing trips away from campus. On the heels of Brunk's resignation, the pressure on Mrs. Hartzler by Hartzler's staff to supply ledger books, receipts, records, and money past due on bills led her to open one letter to her absent husband, "*I'm hot. Guess I'll resign too.*"²⁵ In addition to the problems of a genuine shortage of funds and the board's lassitude in addressing the situation, the Hartzlers' mechanism for managing the college funds lacked precision and some propriety. J.S. Hartzler, for instance, having been charged with financial duties both on the Board of Education Executive Committee and the college executive group, felt the burden of conflicting claims on his responsibility and loyalty. College historian John Umble wrote, "... the assets of the Board had been used in the [Science] building program. To meet the bills, J.S. Hartzler, secretary of the board, signed notes with the name of the Board of Education, had used the endowment funds and annuities of the board, and had persuaded many of the friends of the college to borrow money for the ongoing program."²⁶ President Hartzler, apparently with the compliance of J.S. Hartzler (both men would claim the other's initiative), somehow allowed the estab-

lishment of a separate ledger for some, but not all, of the financial transactions pertaining to the construction of Science Hall. This irregular method wreaked havoc with the eventual efforts to appraise the state of the entire college accounts. The Board of Education never charged either man with dishonest practices. But both administrators surely had resorted, in desperate times, to financial "irregularities," as J.S. Hartzler confessed for his part to the board. The surprising news of the debt and resignations invited speculation, inside and outside Goshen College. In the wake of the announcement, for example, some campus gossips circulated the unsubstantiated rumor that President Hartzler had charged to college accounts some ninety dollars' worth of family groceries from the Parkside corner store at Main and Wilson.²⁷ To the departing president and J.S. Hartzler, the necessity of removing themselves from a college they loved, whose survival they had strenuously attempted to ensure, caused much pain.²⁸

In retrospect, the resignations, under pressure, of J.S. Hartzler on December 29, 1917, and of J.E. Hartzler on February 6, 1918, could be said to mark the beginning of the end of the Old Goshen period. Up to this point, participants on all sides of the educational debate might have been troubled by perplexity, frustration, or bruised feelings. Now something more like bad blood began to flow. While many interrelated causes gave rise to the season of discontent in the wider church at this time, the controversy surrounding the Hartzler years insured that eyes were trained on Goshen as a bellwether for the coming storms.

Officially, the board presented the departed Hartzler as a well-intentioned but inept handler of the financial responsibilities of his office. But many monitors of the college welcomed his resignation on grounds closer to ideological relief than to fiscal concern. The most extreme among them suggested that Goshen's financial debacle was only divine judgment on a school on the brink of spiritual wreckage. From certain other passionate vantage points, including his own, Hartzler represented nothing less than a martyr to what was beginning to seem, to school and church adherents alike, a struggle for Mennonite identity itself. Current students and some Hartzler associates—among them former Elkhart Institute and Goshen classmates—tended to see outsized emblems of their own Goshen loyalties in the man's dauntless belief in progress and headlong devotion to the college.

Not the least of the problems trailing in Hartzler's wake was the threatened loss of the J.S. Musselman Endowment Fund, whose successful realization for the college now would hinge on placating C.H. Musselman, the applesauce manufacturer behind the money. For more than a year, Musselman had coolly and persistently made known to board president H. Frank Reist his objections to Hartzler's treatment. Meanwhile, Goshen's faculty was restive, objecting, for example, to the board's choice of a new

local board appointee in spring 1919. "It seems we get it both going and coming these days," Reist observed to the Executive Committee.²⁹ Under pressure from people like Musselman and from Hartzler himself, the board at their annual meeting May 26-27, 1919, offered a public acknowledgment of their part in the financial crisis, citing their lack of vigilance in supervising college finances.

The faculty as a body rallied to the college in its distress. The Board of Education had, before Hartzler's official resignation, identified George J. Lapp, a returned India missionary delivering lectures on campus in January 1918, as their choice to replace Hartzler. The Executive Committee then acted on that decision when Hartzler resigned, subject to action by the entire board. Notes made in preparation for his first address to the faculty show Lapp praising the faculty for its "family feeling," telling them, "You did not know before perhaps how well you could stand together." He also thanked them for taking him in wholeheartedly, despite the faculty's apparent preference for a president taken from academic ranks, stating candidly, "I hate to stand in a place where a church leader was not wanted."³⁰ In fact, the "church leader" Lapp, was anything but ignorant of educational work. He had already successfully undertaken school development and administration in the India mission field. He had authored a number of articles in the *Gospel Herald* stressing the value of liberal arts education as preparation for the mission field. And he also carried a certain Goshen insider's cachet as an alumnus of "the famous Class of 1913," as Lapp once referred to his Goshen group.

Another mark of the faculty's unified desire to promote Goshen's well-being at this precarious juncture was its acceptance, on February 24, 1918, of a resolution drawn up by a faculty committee commissioned by the board. Any faculty member unable to assent to the February resolution was given the option to "withdraw." In light of the pending crisis, however, the faculty elected a unified adoption of the measure. The statement affirmed general support of Mennonite Church principles and "distinctive doctrines." More particular was the resolution's clause avowing support for "the decision of standards suggested by the General Conference, local conference, and representative bodies and organizations of the church."³¹ Certain board and Indiana-Michigan Conference members believed this resolution to include an unmistakable agreement to abide by new, stricter rulings on plain dress made by both General and local Conferences in the summer of 1917. The faculty, for their part, undoubtably chose to notice that the statement read, "standards *suggested* by the General Conference, etc.," and thus allowed some room for individual interpretation. Though their decision had been taken with a view to meeting church expectations and bolstering the school, the inconsistent evidence of loyalty to the pledge in faculty apparel over the next two years would come to be cited as evidence of Goshen duplicity

and bad faith. Also to prove problematic was a provision in the new constitution adopted by the board May 17, 1918: "The school congregations shall be governed according to the discipline of the conferences in which the schools are located."³²

The abrupt loss of J.E. Hartzler from the presidency set in motion a six-year-long relay of difficulties involving college personnel, especially in the administrative sphere. The statistic of four Goshen presidents—George J. Lapp, H. Frank Reist, Irvin R. Detweiler, and Daniel Kauffman—installed in the five years after Hartzler's departure is still flabbergasting. Three deans—Daniel S. Gerig, Christian B. Blosser, and John J. Fisher (Sr.)—served the college in the same period. To the Board of Education, the hiring of administrators for Goshen College seemed impossible to consider apart from the now paramount need to inspire financial support for the college among the churches—a task dependent, in its turn, on successful assurances of the school's orthodoxy. Not as central, but hovering close to center, was the unavoidable question of whether, under such heavy financial obligations, the college could still compete educationally by continuing to meet state requirements as a standard institution. Given the need for hiring at Goshen to address both ecclesiastical and educational requirements, the pool of personnel from which the board might draw became more limited than usual.

When it came to personnel selection from 1918 on, the Mennonite educational movement curiously became a victim of its own success. The church's flagship schools, Elkhart Institute and Goshen College, had launched by now any number of Mennonite men and women, who through academic training, teaching or ministerial experience, or postgraduate preparation, were qualified to assume posts at the college level. Many such alumni had already joined the faculties of Goshen and Hesston as capable instructors. The college at Goshen, which earlier had been forced to rely on non-Mennonite teachers, was gradually able to identify prospective professors or administrators among its Mennonite alumni, teaching staff, or former faculty. But Goshen's very success in producing a class of Mennonite professionals available for service in the church colleges had also fulfilled the dire prophecies of some constituents. The distrust now publicly attached by some critics to a perceived enclave of doctrinally lax, Goshen-associated academics made it difficult for a number of otherwise obvious candidates to clear the board's screening process for work at Goshen. Familiarity with the school and its traditions, ironically, could disqualify one for employment there.

Thus in these five troubled years of frequent administrative turnover, the board tried to pluck new administrators from outside its suspect college structure. In most cases, though, it was impossible completely to avoid candidates with at least some previous association with Elkhart or Goshen.³³

In fact, in some personnel matters, the board's attention to educational needs at the college caused them, temporarily, to overstep the bounds proscribing more obviously correct, church-approved candidates.

Such was the case in 1918 in a short-lived quest that led in the very unlikely direction of Bluffton, Ohio. Meeting at Goshen on January 31, 1918, the Executive Committee of the board confronted the full extent of the college's debt. Interviews held during the following days with individual faculty members on the subject of the college's precarious financial condition brought forward the suggestion that former president N.E. Byers, now dean at Bluffton College, be returned as dean to Goshen College. The board grasped hold of the faculty proposition that, in light of the fallout sure to follow this financial bombshell, Byers at least might be able to restore confidence on the educational front, thus salvaging some hope of standardization by the state, as well as the patronage of students who insisted on earning recognized credentials.

That some fond nostalgia for the Byers-era Goshen College also prompted this faculty proposal hardly seems a misplaced assumption; most ongoing faculty had been Byers' students or colleagues in Elkhart or Goshen days. More intriguing to consider is how an essentially conservative Executive Committee in 1918 (Reist, D.A. Yoder, D.G. Lapp, D.D. Miller, and J.S. Hartzler) could have imagined interpreting such an eventuality to a constituency who was less than enamored with the Byers legacy at Goshen. Perhaps Reist himself, former Elkhart Institute boy under Principal Byers, fleetingly believed that such an improbable dream could come true.

Whatever the case, sometime before February 6, 1918, even before J.E. Hartzler's resignation, or before the announcement in the March 7 *Gospel Herald* of India missionary George J. Lapp as Hartzler's successor, president of the board H. Frank Reist headed to Ohio for a Bluffton meeting with Byers. There he would "determine officially whether he would consider the matter, and upon what conditions, and also make known to him some requirements of the Board."³⁴ But in 1918, a renaissance of the Byers era at Goshen College was hardly a realistic dream. The light of this reality quickly dawned on both parties at the meeting, as it became apparent that for all the faculty's interest, Byers and the Board of Education would have too wide a gap to bridge to operate productively together.

Byers, for his part, disqualified himself as unsuitable to secure support for Goshen from the board and *The Gospel Herald*, two sources of sustenance he felt absolutely crucial to Goshen's continuation, regardless of his own stature in the world of Indiana higher education. Yet like the faculty remaining at Goshen, Byers seems not completely to have relinquished a dream of returning to the Parkside. "If the call had come from *them* [the board and the *Herald*]," rather than from the faculty alone, he wrote the now-appointed President Lapp on February 13, 1918, "I would have felt

under greater obligations to make the change. . . . At least half of my life work is tied up there and I don't want it to be lost."³⁵

The rapid succession of Goshen administrations following 1918 did indeed lead many to doubt whether Byers' work, or any others' contributions to the college, would survive. The administrative restlessness bespoke the pervasive pressures of a dire financial situation, but also something more. It reflected an encroaching sense of defeat about the future of Mennonite education. Expressions of gloom emanated from both sides of the college gates. Writing to the board in January 1919 of his intent to resign the deanship by the close of the school year, D.S. Gerig alluded tersely to the impossible conditions attending his work, an office held "under great handicaps and with much to discourage and little to encourage" its occupant.³⁶

At this point, President George J. Lapp, after one year in the atmosphere of Goshen's head office, reiterated his intent to return to the climate of the India mission field. At the annual board meeting on March 26 and 27, 1919, the board elected H. Frank Reist, their own president and the editor at the Mennonite Publishing House of the magazine *The Christian Monitor*, as the new head of the college, though the faculty had favored Bible instructor I.R. Detweiler to at least temporarily take that post. To fill Gerig's vacancy, the board had back in February begun to explore the possibility of inviting Christian B. Blosser, dean of the agricultural program,³⁷ to become academic dean. Though Blosser eventually accepted the position, his delayed acceptance for several months led the board through the spring to weigh the merits of Detweiler for the deanship (Detweiler in the summer of 1918 had begun an extended, tireless campaign to relieve Goshen's debt through extensive solicitation in the churches). On April 14, board secretary D.D. Miller addressed H. Frank Reist in these dark terms:

I am in favor of Detweiler as dean provided he is going to stand square on the church problem and if we cannot get a dean to do that then let us quit the business and lock the doors and send our children somewhere where they do have men who are willing to serve the best interests of the church.³⁸

In the eyes of the ecclesiastical establishment, at least, the college problem had become the church problem.

President Frank Reist himself became the next administrative casualty. Early in 1920, Reist informed D.A. Yoder, vice-president of the board, that he had been examined by two physicians who agreed that, in the interests of his health, he must be relieved of some responsibilities and duties. Some heard in these tidings an echo of 1899, when the impossible toil of overseeing Elkhart Institute business had seemed to break the health of J.S. Coffman. In the search for future Goshen College presidents over the next few years, correspondents' occasional allusions to President Reist's weak-

ened health served to underscore the serious rigors and sacrifices awaiting anyone entering the office.

At a February 17 meeting, the Executive Committee of the board decided that Reist would be retained as president but relieved of most of his active duties. I.R. Detweiler would assume the role of acting president, an office whose duties would be defined by the college's local board.³⁹ But soon Detweiler would come in for criticism from representatives of the Indiana-Michigan Conference, in whose district Goshen College and the College Church congregation resided. The announcement that the college on February 13 had been formally recognized as standard by the Indiana State Board of Education, news greeted as most fortuitous within the campus community, may have contributed, however subconsciously, to conference fears that Goshen answered, more and more, to the world.

In early April 1920, Sanford C. Yoder, Board of Education president since May 1919, received from fellow board member David A. Yoder of Elkhart a copy of an objectionable advertising poster that had been discovered on campus and was being circulated among conference leaders.⁴⁰ According to critics, the poster's depiction of performers scheduled for a campus visit exceeded the bounds of propriety.⁴¹ On April 13, pastor Ben B. King of the Fort Wayne Mission, a member of the Indiana-Michigan Conference Executive Committee, also wrote Yoder about the poster, indicating that President Detweiler had already appeared before a conference ministerial meeting to address this point. King found the excuse Goshen's new president gave at that meeting for the poster's appearance on campus—that he had warned the promoter against posting any worldly pictures, but that these prohibitions had been ignored when the advertisement was hung—to be “flimsy.”

More objectionable yet to King were the comments (presumably private, on Detweiler's part) reportedly made by Detweiler in conversation with a brother within an hour of his explanation before the ministers. Entertainments of the sort the poster advertised were necessary to “teach the people” at the college, Detweiler had supposedly confided; if the ministry continued to push so doggedly on certain principles, he observed, they would cause a split in the church. In the eyes of B.B. King, the poster incident involved a series of compounding irritations that made of a single posted bill something larger and less trivial: a racy advertisement that implied to some the president's laxness in guarding against dangerous influences; the heralded entertainment itself; differing public and private rationales given by the president to justify the incident; and intimations by Detweiler of some necessary future resistance to conference authority by the educational camp. Following that trail of perceived affronts, King's conclusion to Yoder is hardly surprising: “There is no use in allowing an institution like that to exist that hatches out Church rebels.”⁴²

In addition to discussing the Goshen poster, B.B. King's April 13 letter apprised Yoder of a movement within the Indiana-Michigan Conference membership to address its growing general apprehension about the school in its territory.⁴³ The college's location in Goshen technically placed it "under the spiritual supervision" of the Conference, King remarked. He enclosed a recent petition to the Executive Committee he had circulated among the conference membership, requesting the Committee to bring together Conference ministers, Goshen faculty, and the Board of Education for a discussion of problems at Goshen College.

This special session of the Indiana-Michigan Conference eventually took place on Thursday, June 3, 1920, in the home of Irvin A. Long, a member of the Olive Church in western Elkhart County. Conference representatives and college faculty attended the meeting, but there was apparently minimal representation from the Mennonite Board of Education. As it happened, the meeting occurred just on the eve of Goshen's commencement week, in which many of the special session participants co-operated on several days of campus programs that culminated with the graduation of the Class of 1920.

This special session gathering would seem to have presented college and conference representatives alike with a crucial opportunity. Here was a chance to clarify the points at issue, rectify misunderstandings, and, probably more vital than any other aim, restore brotherly feeling through fellowship and simple personal proximity. As B.B. King himself stated at the outset of the meeting, a "frank and full discussion" of the educational problem should have been called years before. Instead, the detailed minutes that survive the session record a "frank and full" torrent of individual opinions—without indicating any true meeting of the minds. Indeed, the record reveals to today's student of the period, as the experience of the meeting itself must have revealed to those in attendance, a sobering gulf between the ecclesiastical and educational points of view within the Indiana-Michigan Conference. A recognition of that gulf helps explain the course of events that followed June 1920.

The explicit issue of the June 3 discussion was appropriate Mennonite dress. Dress had become, by 1920, an area of increasing focus by leaders throughout the denomination in the drive for greater coherence and uniformity in Mennonite practice and belief.⁴⁴ More exactly, the Conference members at the June 3 meeting wished to question faculty on their failure to honor their pledge of February 1918, made in the aftermath of the Hartzler resignations, which the local conference had interpreted to mean a commitment to adhere to recent Conference strictures on apparel. The Goshen faculty had not, as a whole, adopted the "regulation garb," clothing which included, for men, straight-collar coats without ties, and, for

women, bonnets of a recommended size and shape, with prayer head-coverings worn wherever prayer was offered.

In fact, the conference men found nothing like a unified college position on dress when they pressed the faculty about their pledge. They were confronted, rather, with comments from a faculty that, based on the minutes at least, sounded detached, even aloof, or impatient.⁴⁵ The fact that two of the faculty present, Jacob C. Meyer and Payson Miller, had participated among the Mennonites of the controversial Quaker relief unit in France (censured in at least one instance for their non-conference-regulation work clothing and caps) and Mennonite Young People's Movement in the United States, would have made at least some of the conference men uneasy.

President Detweiler signaled the independent mood that would characterize faculty comments throughout the session, by stating in response to the initial queries about the pledge that "he prefer[red] not to express himself in representing the faculty. . . , that faculty members might answer for themselves if they cared." Physics and chemistry professor Jonathan M. Kurtz said plainly that since his home church community (the Oak Grove congregation of Smithville, Ohio) had not required all the church regulations, he viewed these new rules on dress to be "treated as a goal." J.C. Meyer, a younger product of the same Oak Grove community, said he had known nothing of the resolution when he had joined the faculty in 1919, and that, besides, "he is a member of the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference," and thus not subject to Indiana-Michigan rulings. When Christian B. Blosser, who in 1919 had succeeded Daniel S. Gerig as dean, reported candidly before the gathering his own lack of conviction on the dress matter, stating furthermore his understanding that the Board of Education required no Goshen faculty man to wear the regulation coat, B.B. King seized on the choice facing the conference, stating, "From what we learn the blame seems to rest either upon the faculty or the Board of Education for this misunderstanding."

Presently I.R. Detweiler offered that the faculty had signed the resolution in 1918 "*as interpreted* by the committee of the Board of Education" (emphasis added). At this juncture, according to the minutes, the following exchange occurred:

D.D. Miller said, that the resolution was a goal to strive for.

B.B. King replied, that it looks as if the Board of Education put one over on the public; money was solicited on the grounds of the institution complying with the Church's regulations.

I.R. Detweiler replied that all solicitation that he did was not by promising the faculty would comply, but that the debt was one of the Church.

D.J. Johns said, that we must sacrifice self for the good of the public.

Thus, interestingly enough, at least some of the Indiana-Michigan Conference men in the course of the session concluded that blame for the renegade campus situation must be apportioned not primarily to the errant faculty, but to an overindulgent Board of Education. These conclusions presumably introduced an interesting dynamic into the proceedings, since Bishop D.D. Miller of the Conference Executive Committee also held a seat on the Board of Education's Executive Committee.

At the June 3 meeting, dress was, in actuality, the symbolic starting point in a wide-ranging exchange on important, timely issues. Participants in the meeting touched on problems affecting the College congregation, where membership changed frequently as students came and went, and where members originated in widely differing localities. They discussed the reticence among most Mennonites to address issues of education, G. J. Lapp pointing out that "few people but what will close like a clam if the educational problem is presented." They addressed the need to observe Matthew 18 in bringing charges against individuals. Not surprisingly, hot-headed and trivial material found its way onto the agenda as well. Young faculty member Payson Miller observed in response to D.J. Johns that teaching at Goshen did indeed constitute sacrifice, since "he could get three times more money elsewhere." B.B. King asked if it was true that the college "preceptress" (presumably dean of women Vesta Zook) "wore a hat down town, that he had heard of such, although he himself had not personally investigated." On the heels of that query, J.C. Meyer seems to have effected an impromptu resignation, suggesting "that this Conference secure someone for his place." But in one way or another, all elements of the discussion pointed to the basic question of Goshen College's relationship to church authority.

In his formulation, "we must sacrifice self for the public," D.J. Johns had hit upon one of the essential differences in outlook that separated the parties present. To Johns's statement, we might compare a line from the discussion attributed to J.C. Meyer: "We must work with ordinary human beings rather than with ideal; human beings are not cut over the same pattern." The desire, on one hand, for communal cohesiveness and unified purpose; on the other, the freedom required for individual choice and fulfillment: here were represented the tensions inherent in all education as well as in the Mennonite Church of that moment.

The June 3 forum succeeded in airing these tensions. But its participants appear to have failed in taking the next step of self-consciously identifying and addressing them. At the very least, the gathering might have fruitfully tarried over a passing comment by Dr. C.D. Esch: "We need sympathy, not getting together to rip up each other's back." As it was, the

session disbanded with a decision to form committees and meet again the following year.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, church and college business marched on through a comparatively cool summer. Commencement Week at the college, immediately following the Special Session, involved many of its participants. Three days after the Special Session, Dr. Esch and B.B. King shared the Assembly Hall platform in a Commencement Week missionary program. Daniel Kauffman, D.A. Yoder, and D.D. Miller presided over a day-long June 7 program on "Church Interests and Problems." In the course of that day, J.S. Coffman's son, minister Samuel F. Coffman of Ontario, publicly observed of the work of governing boards of education that "when a board becomes a spanking machine it loses its dignity and becomes a shingle." D.H. Bender, president of Hesston College, stated that "Our attitude toward the General Conference should be that of a child to parent, that of respect, obedience and submission." Vernon Shoup, president of the Class of 1920, on June 8 presented President Detweiler a Class Gift: a system of lighting the college tennis courts that would allow students to play tennis at night. A Goshen College twenty-fifth anniversary program reunited former Presidents Byers and Hartzler and former Dean Paul Whitmer. In the course of his talk on "The Educational Growth of Goshen College," Byers commented, "We should not substitute piety for real education if we wish to be really and honestly religious" (*Record*, May-June 1920).

In July, President Detweiler headed to Canada for several weeks, where he solicited \$14,000 for Goshen College among Mennonites there. Back on campus, the Summer School of 142 students followed their studies, organized weekly Bible Study classes, rallied around a relief drive for the impoverished university students of post-war Vienna,⁴⁷ pursued tennis day and night, and entertained themselves on campus with ice cream socials, mandolin solos and joke contests, and in town with performances by troupes such as the Sibyl Sammis Singers, traveling through Goshen on a Chautauqua tour. In the immediate sense, the divide exposed at the June 3 meeting among parties interested in the college had almost no effect. Day-to-day college and church affairs continued to drive forward and take on lives of their own, lives that frequently, and often happily, intertwined in spite of differences. Yet as far as the future fortunes of Goshen College were concerned, the summer of 1920 had, all the same, ushered in a period of heightened uncertainty and mutual wariness.

In the March and April 1921 issues of the *Record*, President Detweiler published a two-part article on "The Mission of the College." The first part described the college's relationship to the state; the second, its relationship to the church. In the latter section, Detweiler forthrightly laid out his view of the "real and inevitable" differences between church and college. He depicted the college as a dynamic entity that changes with the times,

and the church as having "remained more or less static in her method." The college was by nature analytical; the church insisted on the method of synthesis "as the foundation of both Theology and Life." The college "makes much of service in relation to the devotional side of religion," while the church looked upon religion as "almost entirely worship, including certain forms and applications." Finally, the college "because of its methods and work stands more for growth and development." The church advanced a "religion of crisis," or "sudden transcendental experience."

These differences, Detweiler went on to argue, had been the cause for frequent, but unnecessary, misunderstanding between the college and the constituency. Here Detweiler would attempt to lay those misunderstandings to rest:

The college does not have a new Gospel for the church. It has never pretended that it had. The Church College believes in the old gospel of Jesus Christ and does not intend to substitute any other means for salvation than faith in Jesus Christ.

In other parts of his paper, Detweiler voiced opinions sure to pass muster with conservative readers. He deplored the "bad spirit abroad in our country" since the war. The Christian college must promote spiritual growth and emphasize Bible study in its curriculum. Church and college have the same message, he repeated throughout; they simply rely on different methods to promote it.

As in the case of the Indiana-Michigan forum in 1920, I.R. Detweiler's article held out to church and school partisans an opportunity for taking stock of what divided them. Detweiler had grappled with church and school problems in a full, rigorously argued treatise. It is obvious from the article's overall gist that his intent was to reassure those disenchanted observers who viewed Goshen College as more rival than servant to the church and its programs.

Yet in addition to describing and interpreting the tensions in Mennonite education, Detweiler's "Mission of the College" article also threw new obstacles onto the path toward mutual accommodation. For one thing, Detweiler's article demonstrated the very intellectual, analytical approach to religious problems that he had identified as one cause of misunderstanding. The methodical rigor and assured tone of his paragraphs must have appeared inappropriately detached, if not simply impenetrable, to some readers outside the academy.

And Detweiler expressed views in the "Mission of the College" article that could only have further alienated those readers. Having explained that the college simply employed different methods from those of the church, he went on to define the mission of the church-affiliated college. If conservative readers expected here a belated mention of "safeguarding" or some

equivalent responsibility, they were surely disappointed. The church college existed:

to fit people to live in an ever-changing world. . . . The church has often attempted to deal with the method of doctrinal teaching in this fashion. Individuals have tried to live as their forefathers did; but this has only meant failure in real life. The college, therefore, must anticipate tomorrow as a beacon light, prepare individuals for the approaching change.

Back in 1896, J.S. Coffman had said that the college itself must provide a beacon light in a changing world. Detweiler instead depicted the college looking for its beacon to the future —“the approaching change.”

If Detweiler had inspired conservative confidence by hailing a student's knowledge of the Bible as essential, he surely risked undercutting that confidence when he wrote:

Aside from theology and dogma, there is a value in the literature of the Bible which if ignored sets aside the highest ideals found in the best literature in our country.

A familiarity with the Bible not only allows for greater understanding of works by Lowell, Poe, Longfellow, Whittier, and Bryant (to name the Americans), Detweiler wrote, but helps one grasp the allusions in Shakespeare and Tennyson as well. J.B. Smith had in 1918 caricatured the liberal position in terms close enough to Detweiler's to invite similar criticism again. As depicted by Smith in a letter to the Board of Education, the liberal believed that “the Bible is inspired—so were Socrates and Plato and Savonarola and Bernard and Shakespeare.”⁴⁸ Whether the Goshen president realized it or not, even hinting that Scripture was in some way the servant of the Great Books was in the Mennonite world of 1921 (even the mainstream American Protestant world) an impolitic step.⁴⁹

For Detweiler to have chosen to thus express his sentiments certainly displayed candor and conviction. But one also glimpses in that decision either a lack of diplomatic savvy, or outright recklessness, given the widely-known conservative portrayal of Goshen College. Another possible explanation for Detweiler's seeming failure of tact would be that he had aimed his remarks squarely at an audience of college-trained peers, never intending an outside readership. But in light of the pending standoff with church authorities, and the more extreme Goshen critics' penchant for seizing upon *Record* material as cannon fodder, that choice, too, would speak to a strange indifference to the big picture.

Around the same time that his “Mission of the College” article appeared, Detweiler was corresponding with the presidents of a variety of other midwestern church colleges, attempting to ascertain what relationship their

schools enjoyed with their respective church boards regarding the management of the college. Total independence, came most of the replies nonchalantly. Perhaps Acting President Detweiler in 1921 had simply begun to chafe in the peculiar harness binding Mennonite education, and did not mind who knew it.

From the perspective of the board, too, something had to give at the college in 1921. By the time of the annual board meeting held on June 18, the group convened expecting to make significant changes at the school. Board president S.C. Yoder reported on the remaining unpaid debt of the college, and raised the question of maintaining state standardization under those unsatisfactory financial conditions. A "Committee of Twelve" consisting of faculty and board members was appointed to offer recommendations concerning the "problems of Goshen College" at a special board session scheduled for July 6. The board at this meeting also expressed their desire to replace Acting President I.R. Detweiler with Sanford Yoder as the new Goshen president.⁵⁰ After dismissing Yoder from the room, the board elected him to the post.

But Yoder was not immediately prepared to accept the assignment. He was minister of a large congregation in Kalona, Iowa; his children felt at home in Iowa. He felt his training and experience were inadequate—true enough, in a purely academic sense, since at the time of his 1921 election he had not yet completed a B.A. degree. In addition, he had just been elected secretary of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. "Under other conditions a person might have felt flatteringly complimented to be asked to assume such a position," he recalled, "but whatever chances there were of my falling into that mood were offset by my knowledge of all that would be involved in such a undertaking."⁵¹ For a month, he weighed his decision. He asked for and received much counsel from church leaders, family, and friends, counsel that was "mostly con," as he later wrote. Sampling this correspondence, one imagines pressure and dread building around Yoder as he read lines like the following, written to him by Daniel Kauffman in letters sent a few days apart in early July:

If you can save a tottering building and have hopes of building it up strong and substantial, by all means do it; but it is suicidal folly to get under it and let it crush you while it is falling.

If in the course of events it should turn out that you have veered to the liberal side, that would only make matters worse for Goshen, to say nothing of what would happen to you.⁵²

The faculty during this month-long limbo held their collective breath. They thought Yoder would accept the presidency. It was now a question of waiting to learn what composition a staff under his reorganized administration—obviously, by board design, a more conservative adminis-

tration—might take. Many faculty expected to be relieved from service. At least some seem to have considered stepping down as a group, in a show of solidarity that would at least preempt the inevitable. The faculty on campus for summer school in 1921 appear to have formed an unofficial network of correspondence, with the purpose of informing absent faculty (and anticipated faculty, as in the case of passing the news to young Harold S. Bender at Garrett Biblical Institute) of breaking developments at home base. For the faculty, this month was a period of discouragement and day-to-day uncertainty.

"I almost despair of our situation at Goshen," John J. Fisher (Sr.) wrote July 1, 1921, to fellow education professor Silas Hertzler studying for the summer at the University of Chicago. At home in Kalona for a visit, Fisher had spent the afternoon of July 1 in a long discussion of college matters with Board of Education president S.C. Yoder, bishop of Fisher's East Union congregation. As he confided to Hertzler,

I have a high regard for Sanford but must feel that he does not understand our position. I feel the brethren [of the board] utterly fail to appreciate what we are trying to accomplish. . . . As I size the situation up, it is like this: They have three grievances: (1) We are supposed to be liberal. (2) They do not like certain personalities. Some of us have not been under fire, but we are the ones who have maintained silence. All who have made any defense of their position are discredited. (3) We have the reputation of being divided among ourselves. Hertzler I feel like throwing the whole matter to the winds and looking out for number one. The third point is the one that hurts me most.

Much depended on a coming special session of the board on July 6, Fisher informed Hertzler. The outcome was apparently uncertain enough that he could give Hertzler no definite news about his own return to Goshen. If Hertzler heard that "the Board meeting went off alright," Fisher proposed, Hertzler could assume the faculty would be returning for the coming year. He could expect Fisher to stop in Chicago around July 8—and should get him a pair of tickets to see *As You Like It* in the city. As for the present evening, Fisher concluded, singing class was being held at nearby East Union Church, but "I am not in the mood to attend such a meeting this evening."⁵³

At the July 6 special session of the board, the "Committee of Twelve" made numerous recommendations concerning faculty soundness and educational preparation, dress, and student entertainments, among other areas. Intercollegiate athletics and off-campus glee club tours, both sources of joy to students, were to be discontinued. The Executive Committee created a special committee with the task of reorganizing administration and faculty

(around the pending Yoder presidency) in a way that would allow for an acceptance of the more conservative measures. One week passed, and still there had been no official reconfiguration announced. "We are still on the sea of uncertainty," Fisher wrote July 15. Visiting Ontario, meanwhile, former president J.E. Hartzler informed Acting President Detweiler that rumors were circulating in Canada that Goshen had closed and would not reopen for business in the fall.⁵⁴

The faculty were standing by, tentatively planning for a meeting among themselves after the reorganization scheme was announced. Faculty anxiety gravitated to the possible loss of state accreditation. Some members felt they should "make the most of it" on the job for another year, assuming, that was, that they still figured on the faculty roster when the new plan was made public. Others were preparing to leave. "A number of us have felt that we would not like to step out without having had the benefit of the feeling and thought of the others and that we ought in turn give the rest the benefit of our own reaction to the situation," Fisher wrote Hertzler July 15 to advise him of this pending meeting.

But things did not turn out quite as anyone would have predicted. "Dear Hertzler," Fisher wrote the next day,

And now you will be surprised: The executive committee met [yesterday] and this forenoon. They called Mr. Detweiler in last night and reported that Sanford would not accept the presidency and asked the administration of last year to continue.

Amos E. Kreider would be brought in as head of the Bible Department: a reconciling influence, it was hoped. Fisher would replace C.B. Blosser as dean. And Detweiler, still designated only an acting president, would continue at that post.⁵⁵

Thus that faculty meeting Fisher had referred to, which some assumed would be a valedictory gathering of dismissed professors, would be unnecessary after all. The fear of a total transformation, or even dissolution, of Goshen College as the faculty knew it was past, at least for the moment. But there was no euphoria on campus during the remainder of the summer—only the looming necessity, before classes began in September, of pulling together an adequate number of teachers, a new catalogue, and, as ever, more money. August 9 found Fisher commenting, "Detweiler wrote Weaver [from the field where he was soliciting funds] that there was not much money but a very fine feeling. Well, you know just about how long we can live on the fine feeling."

But live the college did. Strangely enough, historian John Umble reported, in many respects 1921-1922 "was the banner year of the College up to that time."⁵⁶ The college enrollment of 204 was the highest ever. *Record* editor C.A. Fulmer in a Thanksgiving editorial exuded optimism, not just

for Goshen but the world: "We are living in the greatest age in the world's history. Just now the greatest attempt of the human race to rationally solve its own problems is in progress"⁵⁷ A campus-initiated drive to build a new gymnasium engaged student spirit and energies. Classes were dismissed for two "work days" in November that allowed students to earn wages toward the project. Students assumed, correctly, that Goshen community residents would support a student-centered project, and they solicited successfully among Goshen's businesses. Construction on the barn-like structure at the east side of campus got under way almost immediately, with students doing most of the work under supervision of a contractor.

Yet, as college historian John Umble wrote, "there were rumblings of dissatisfaction in the student body because of the board decision in regard to athletics and glee clubs."⁵⁸ A subtle but self-conscious notion of self-determination and righteous independence began to surface on campus, with ripples touching the anxious board observers. "Oh say have you heard the latest," D.A. Yoder penned to S.C. Yoder on October 10, 1921. "Report is out that Detweiler has \$470,000 endowment fund raised and when he gets the other \$30,000 he will be in a position so that he can hold his job in spite of the board. Do not know whether there is any truth in it or not."⁵⁹ C.A. Fulmer's December 1921 editorial on "The Standard College" reflects a student possessiveness about the academic issues at stake, should college directors allow Goshen's standard rating by the state to lapse. The enterprise behind the gym project apparently struck some of the board members as too autonomous to be praiseworthy.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, charges of misused authority in church affairs brought against conservative Indiana-Michigan bishop Jacob K. Bixler, a hard-liner on the Goshen question, seemed to play into the hands of the college group, who felt increasingly free to question board and conference judgment.

There was also a trend in the student press toward claiming certain ideals, like "service" or "loyalty," as unique to Goshen College, rather than as values humbly borrowed from home congregations and conferences. Several student essays in the *Record* subtly and implicitly compared the Goshen way of being—the college's life, really—to the church's habitual rulings and interventions. A commencement week oration by Wilbur Miller published in the summer of 1922 fervently defended college mores. Another was C.A. Fulmer's final *Record* editorial of the school year, which concluded, "As we spread Goshen's message of service and salvation we are merely offering extension courses of a greater Goshen College." This sort of breezy student claim, perfectly innocent on the face of it, could easily disquiet the distant, more mature, conservative reader, on the lookout for academic puffery and unprepared to concede evangelization to the realm of the "extension course."

Throughout the spring of 1922, board president Sanford Yoder at times felt himself at wits' end. The annual meeting of the Board of Education in June, Yoder wrote April 9 to board members, would require that the group be prepared for direct, decisive action regarding the future of Goshen College, to avoid, by all means, the previous summer's experience.

Yoder was fielding bales of advice, solicited and otherwise, on measures for remedying the Goshen situation. On one hand came from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on May 1, 1922, an urgent memo from John H. Mosemann (Sr.), to Board of Education members Yoder and D.D. Miller. The memo was accompanied by the "Goshen College Tree and Its Fruits," an allegorical cartoon. The product of his collaboration with others, as Mosemann explained, the sketch drew its imagery from Luke 6:43 and Matthew 12:33. At the base of the Goshen College tree were depicted "Bad Roots," marked Harvard, Columbia, Oberlin, Union, and so forth. Labels given to the tree's branches included Hypocrisy, Modernism, Disloyalty, and Unsound Literature. True to its scheme, the cartoon depicted a harvest of "Bad Fruits" hanging from the boughs: Feigned Orthodoxy, Laymen Propaganda, Unfaithful Shepherds, World Betterment, and the like. Another cluster of fruit bore the names of leading theologians and academics purported to be modernists, and some of them, like George A. Coe of Northwestern and Union Theological Seminary and Indiana's Professor Fisk, were indeed appreciated university lecturers of individuals now associated with Goshen College. Whatever graphic jolt the tree cartoon may have delivered to Sanford C. Yoder, Mosemann's accompanying offer must have exceeded it: "If you desire that I get up 10,000 or more copies for general distribution among the brotherhood East, West, North, South I shall be glad to do it that the desired end may be obtained namely that the church see the *truth* about Goshen College and rise against the school itself and all who seek to defend the corrupt thing."

"Dear Brother Mosemann," Yoder responded, "Your valued letter was received yesterday. I am glad for any suggestions that may be received with reference to the situation at Goshen. . . . I do not think that it will be necessary to send out a chart through the West to inform the people as to the standing of the school. . . as protests are coming in [from that region] with increased frequency. . . ." Yoder's calculated mildness in his handling of the Tree from Lancaster hints at the supreme diplomacy under fire he later exhibited as Goshen College president.⁶¹

On the other hand, independent pleas from former Goshen classmates Vernon Smucker, editor of *The Christian Monitor*, and A.E. Kreider, who was currently serving in the trenches as Goshen's Bible Department head, also came to Yoder expressing concern that the board not sacrifice the college's educational standards in its planning. In a May 15 letter to Vernon Smucker, Yoder outlined the difficulties facing the board. Apparently, Yoder felt freer

with Smucker than with other correspondents to express himself personally. Departing from his usual businesslike, diplomatic tone, Yoder confessed,

I have grown so tired of this continual fire that I have said, and unless the Lord leads me definitely another way, it will be my last pull unless there is something done that will restore the confidence of the church and where [sic] young men can go and work with some assurance of the future without the continual grind that is literally killing some of them off.

The melodramatic touch is so uncharacteristic of Yoder that one wonders which "literal" victims he has in mind here. Perhaps he was thinking of former President H. Frank Reist, still an exile for his health's sake in far-off Donna, Texas. Whatever the case, a repeated refrain in Yoder's correspondence of the spring of 1922 is his sorrowing hesitancy to ask anyone worthy of a critical position within the school to sacrifice himself to the trials of the Goshen College situation.

The eventual candidate selected in June 1922 to withstand these rigors turned out to be Daniel Kauffman of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, editor of the Mennonite weekly magazine, *Gospel Herald*, and unmatched arbiter of mainstream Mennonite thought. I.R. Detweiler was relieved of his position as acting president, with appreciation expressed for his service to the college. In February 1923 he became pastor of the Eighth Street Mennonite Church, a congregation at that time affiliated with the Central Conference. Writing thirty-seven years later about the board's decision to invite Kauffman, Yoder observed that Kauffman at this juncture was "respected in all circles, but he was past his prime and had been out of educational work for years." By all accounts, Kauffman himself was a mild-tempered if dour-countenanced man, whose personal dealings were seldom marked by conflict. He was by no means the most extreme among those easterners interested in reforming Goshen College.⁶²

Yet when the Board of Education on June 10, 1922, elected Daniel Kauffman president of Goshen, they were angling not simply for Kauffman the individual, but also for the ultimate symbol of Mennonite authority. Since 1908, with the transfer of the center of Mennonite publishing from Funk's independent company in Elkhart to the church-controlled Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, "Scottdale" had become shorthand among Mennonites for the official center of church opinion and power. Kauffman had actively participated in the decision to move the center of Mennonite influence from Indiana to Pennsylvania. As first moderator of General Conference, editor of *Gospel Herald*, editor of the three successive *Bible Doctrine* manuals, and ubiquitous participant on the range of important church bodies, Kauffman had long been molder, organizer, and unifier of the

denomination. Indeed, the frequently quoted statement by Paul Erb that at one time Kauffman served simultaneously on twenty-two boards and committees, makes one muse sympathetically that when the fifty-six-year-old Kauffman agreed to leave the pleasant order of his Scottsdale editor's life for a plunge into the Goshen maelstrom, he did so as a victim of his own indispensable officialdom.⁶³

In any case, now "Goshen"—a geographical point with its own symbolic connotations—was being ceded, it appeared, to Scottsdale territory. In summoning Bishop Kauffman to Goshen, the board signaled its intent that Mennonite education be fashioned in the image of the official, conservative church—not the other way around. The symbolic portent of Kauffman occupying the president's office, more than anything enacted by Kauffman himself, contributed to the campus unrest of 1922-1923. John Umble wrote that a number of faculty and students withdrew from the college even before Kauffman was inaugurated.⁶⁴

In addition to selecting Kauffman for president, board members at the June 10 meeting had adopted detailed recommendations for a unified Mennonite educational program as formulated by the Committee on Recommendations. Among other decisions, the board committed itself to maintaining one central educational institution, offering a complete curriculum, that would conform in its operations to biblical teaching and church doctrine; immediate efforts would be made to arrange affairs at Goshen accordingly. But this resolution contained the unspoken proviso that, should Goshen fail to meet the necessary standards, the church's central institution would not necessarily continue to be Goshen College. This board meeting also saw the creation of a finance committee, which included the new office of financial agent, and the formation of a Ways and Means Committee whose task it was to adjust conditions in Goshen and Hesston to the program just put into place. The board also had direct oversight over Hesston College.

In his opening address to the campus community in the fall of 1922, President Kauffman delivered a lengthy talk on the mission of Goshen College. The address was designed to inaugurate the new unified educational plan at Goshen College. After reassuring his audience that the board was prepared to meet the financial requirements for standardization, Kauffman added, "Let us not forget that a still more important thing is to be standard with the Church." "So clear should be our adherence to the fundamentals of the Christian faith," he went on, "that there should be no reasonable ground to doubt as to what our attitude is." He closed with lines from the first chapter of Joshua:

This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy way

prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success (*Record*, October 1922).

In the face of much talk of biblical law and fundamentals, other campus figures that fall and winter seemed determined, nevertheless, not to relinquish the torches of certain traditional "distinctives" claimed by Goshen College. Taking his turn during a series of chapel addresses by faculty marking National Education Week, Dean Fisher stressed education's basic importance for the human race, speaking of how the plasticity of the human mind allowed an individual to grow and change over a relatively long period of life (*Record*, December 1922).

In a March 1923 essay, *Record* editor John Thut extolled the innovative energies of youth, citing as examples of educated, youthful leaders Wycliff, Huss, Luther, and the Apostle Paul. The implications of a quotation from a youth leader named Margaret Slatterly could not have escaped the special notice of certain segments of the paper's readership:

Jesus was a young man. How do you dare to leave the living Christ alone in this world to fight and win battles with only [those of] us over fifty [who have] the atmosphere and training of another day? Who knows but what the older people may be thinking in terms of day before yesterday?

Thut closed his piece with a text that over the years had been made almost sacrosanct by Goshen loyalists: Coffman's "beautiful picture" painted in "The Spirit of Progress" of young men and women passing out the portals of the Elkhart Institute.

Sometime before March 1923, various groups concerned with Goshen College, including alumni, began to voice uneasiness about the vague board statements about the school's future. Confronted with a vacuum of reliable information or reassurance, the various parties' anxiety and speculation mounted. Meetings held on campus March 6 by the board's Ways and Means Committee afforded the interested parties an opportunity to question board members about their plans. Over four hundred people jammed Assembly Hall at that evening meeting, to find that the board had prepared a program on the subject, preempting an open forum and failing to assuage fears. A dominant issue continued to be the question of college standardization, with rumors in the air of Goshen's enforced metamorphosis into a plain-suited, bonneted Bible school.

At noon on March 8, the Executive Committee of the board, with D.D. Miller presiding, called a meeting of students and faculty. S.C. Yoder asked for student co-operation. The students responded by asking for another meeting, which was planned for 4 p.m. that afternoon. The student council conducted this two-hour session, at which faculty and board members were also present. In essence, the students laid out their objections to the

current board approach, suggesting that Daniel Kauffman and a number of unnamed board members be replaced by people with strong educational credentials.⁶⁵

As reported by the *Goshen Daily News-Times* on March 9, several of the students' questions raised in this session went unanswered. When students called into doubt genuine church-wide support for the board's handling of the college, and demanded a rationale for the dismissal of President I.R. Detweiler, board members declined to discuss the topics. Mervin Hostetler, a senior leader of 1923 who was tapped to present an argument for maintaining an accredited college, remembered vividly his awkwardness and discomfort when, upon concluding his appeal to impassive board members, he was met with stark silence.⁶⁶

As of March 10, the student council intended to call yet another mass meeting, this one aimed at engaging community support for the embattled institution. If the *News-Times* reports of the March incidents are any indication, the Goshen community was in fact ripe for such an appeal.⁶⁷ A March 8 story included the comments, "A wide interest in the condition of affairs at the college is being taken by the entire city also, as the institution was brought here largely through liberal donations by many of Goshen's leading citizens." The \$5,000 so recently donated toward the student gymnasium was a fresh memory.

On the borders of credibility, however, is a story reported, without comment, by student Ivan Hostetler in a letter to his cousin, Lester Hostetler. Certain town men become so enraged by the conservative regime at Goshen College that they organized a posse, shotguns and all, for running President Kauffman out of town. The Wild West scenario was aborted at the last minute when, following consultation with I.R. Detweiler, the men were prevailed upon by the former president to abide by the way of peace.⁶⁸

Around March 10, President Kauffman headed west to Kansas, returning on March 17. Meanwhile, the *News-Times* described conditions on campus during the second week of March as "almost chaotic," with the routine upset and school activities abandoned altogether on March 8.⁶⁹ At least one student interpreted Kauffman's trip as an effort to dodge the mounting campus heat: "I rather think it was about as warm for the *president* as for anybody else so he had to go to Kansas to cool off. It took him over a week to do it too."⁷⁰ But to be fair, Kauffman was in a nearly impossible situation which by March 10 had little to do with his geographical location. He had bravely faced the *News-Times*'s slanted report of March 6, responding with a letter to the editor in the March 7 edition. There he corrected the impression that Goshen would drop her standardization, that scholarship would be outlawed, or that the administration would "interfere with the individual conscience of any student," presumably regarding dress. Goshen College appreciated the community's patronage, he added. This reasoned communication ap-

peared as part of a series of articles arranged under the screaming headline, "Resignation of President To Be Asked." One has no difficulty believing Alice Kauffman Gingerich's assertion that the Goshen assignment was for her father a walk "through the Valley of Humiliation," and a lonely, frustrating year.⁷¹

Turmoil in the College Church congregation contributed further sorrow. Throughout the March days of college storm and stress, the College Church congregation was, with its usual symmetry, following a similar pattern of unrest. On February 21, 1923, shortly before the college hosted various mass meetings, a members' meeting had been called in the church meeting place, Assembly Hall. Bishop D.D. Miller and the Indiana-Michigan Conference executive committee planned to require a "yes" or "no" vote from each member on the question of their loyalty to Conference ordinances. But the congregation went its own way. Of the more than two hundred members, only fourteen consented even to enter the anteroom for a vote. Some of the fourteen voted "no." On March 25, Bishop Miller conducted communion services for twelve participants.

When the local board of the college gathered later in March 1923, they found themselves unable to plan assuredly for a summer session or terms beyond. At this point, they turned over all future planning to the Board of Education's Executive Committee, which called a special board session for April 4, 5, and 6. Those meetings made it plain that, barring some dramatic change in the present course of relations among the Board of Education, the Indiana-Michigan Conference, and the college, it would be impossible to operate the school in the coming year. On May 22, the board assigned a committee consisting of S.C. Yoder, Orie O. Miller, Albert J. Steiner, and Daniel Kauffman to investigate the advisability of temporarily closing the college. Of the investigating committee members, only Orie Miller was an alumnus of Goshen College.⁷² At the annual Board of Education meeting held at Goshen on June 18, 1923, that committee recommended, to the Board's approval, that the college remain closed for reorganization throughout 1923-1924.

An article explaining the decision, "Concerning the Future of Goshen College," appeared in the July 12, 1923 issue of *Gospel Herald*. On August 29-31, 1923, the Mennonite Board of Education, in an informal meeting at the Waterloo Mennonite Church held in conjunction with the Mennonite General Conference session in Waterloo, Ontario, elected Sanford C. Yoder president of Goshen College.

The board's thirty-year-old financial agent, Orie Miller, accepted the decision to close Goshen College with melancholy realism. In 1921, Miller had written to his father during that tense period of uncertainty about the college's future, "It seems to me the last thing that should be thought of is to close the school. . . . There must be some way out." But in June 1923, no

such satisfactory solution had appeared. "I feel as badly about the situation at Goshen as anyone can," Orié Miller wrote in the summer of 1923 to E.A. Meyer, president of the Goshen College Alumni Association. "Still the action of the Board is entirely in line with the only course that looked to me possible even before the Board meeting. . . . Under the circumstances I think the Board has taken the only action that they could consistently take."⁷³

In 1923, the adult board member Orié Miller struggled conscientiously and compassionately to take "consistent" action in the matter of Goshen College's future. Nine years earlier, however, the student Orié Miller had posed barefoot, wielding a spear, in an outdoor production of Handel's cantata "Saul"—less troubled by the problem of "consistency" as he prepared with his grinning companions to sing Handel under the stars. Surely, Miller knew, the key to Goshen's successful revival would be to strike a just balance between religious tradition and liberal learning.

Had joyous and educational Old Goshen moments like the 1914 masquerade on the college lawn demonstrated cultural equilibrium? Or cultural excess? However one answered that question in June 1923, a deserted college lawn communicated, in its own poignant way, the delicacy of the balance.



Chapter Four

ACADEMICS AND ECCLESIASTICS

OLD GOSHEN AND ITS CLOSING 1923-1924

*We should agree as to the [same] type [of model
Christian] and all work together in the manufacture of
that kind of a product.*

— Daniel Kauffman to President N.E. Byers, February 6, 1908

Human beings are not cut over the same pattern.

— J.C. Meyer, Minutes of Special Session of
Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference,
June 3, 1920

*Of all dodgers and jugglers these learned and critical
ones are the limit.*

— A.I. Yoder to S.C. Yoder, March 24, 1923

The spring of 1923 at Goshen College came in like a lion. Early in March, students had challenged their Mennonite Board of Education elders to reverse conservative school policies. They had boldly called on their college president, church father Daniel Kauffman, to vacate Goshen's head office, and had suggested that certain board members should go, too. They had campaigned for a more progressive Goshen College among college alumni and Goshen citizens, groups they had rightly predicted would favor a forward-looking young people's crusade over conservative efforts, conceived outside the college milieu, to revive practices of the previous century. Around the Parkside, snow was melting; maple sap was running. Youthful revolution was in the air.

But counter-breezes were blowing that spring, too. The controversy surrounding Goshen College had, after twenty years, surpassed its original causes to become in itself the primary Goshen problem. At least one alumnus true believer in the college cautioned the Goshen faction that their uncompromising challenge to church policy would only hasten the demise of the institution.¹ Authoritarian as the board could appear to Goshen's adherents, that body, in its turn, was subject to pressure and reprimand by a conservative portion of the church constituency to whom merely the word "Goshen" had come to symbolize Mennonite disunity. The board president, Sanford Yoder, in the early 1920s had begun quietly advising college-age Iowa protégés like Guy Hershberger and Glen Miller against attending Goshen, with a view to their sidestepping a center of contention whose future was uncertain. Weary pragmatism—a quantity not yet possessed by the college's youthful agitators—suggested to the board that perhaps this season would prove more apocalyptic than revolutionary.

Special meetings conducted by the board at Goshen on April 4, 5, and 6 accordingly issued in a disturbing announcement to students, their supporters, and the watchful Goshen faculty. Conditions at Goshen College, it was announced, made it impossible for the board, as representatives responsible to the church at large, to continue operating the college. Following June commencement exercises, Goshen College would close its doors for one year.

In the shadow of that announcement, the irony of conducting "commencement" observances two months later was not lost on those who attended the ceremonies. Commencement day, June 13, had dawned clear and pleasantly mild in Goshen. The program went according to plan. The College Quartet, a superb men's ensemble, had reunited to sing for the occasion. Degrees were conferred on 125 graduates of the class of 1923. But senior class member Mervin Hostetler, the *Maple Leaf* editor and all-around student leader who had earlier represented the student council before an inhospitable board, remembered that the perfect weather and the beauty of the men's singing only added poignancy to what were already heartbreaking proceedings. Rather than exulting that morning in his own achievements, Hostetler could only think of how Goshen's final commencement was "like a death—a funeral."

The tall athlete managed to get through the ceremonies and receive his diploma. Then he hurried to his North Hall room, threw himself onto the bed, and wept.² Five days later, on June 18, the board announced definitively that Goshen College would close its doors for one year. The spring that had come in roaring for change went out with quiet laments for a suddenly silent school.

Only one year earlier, graduates had toasted their *alma mater's* vitality. In June 1922, another senior leader, class president Wilbur Miller, had fer-

vently assured his classmates of the “ever-ringing truth. . . . that Goshen College lives.”³ Miller had thus begun his emblem oration, a talk entitled “The Soul of Goshen College,” before an audience gathered for the senior class program. In the annual emblem oration, a ritual of Goshen College commencement week, the orator concluded by passing to a representative of the coming senior class a lamp and a book, the symbolic elements of Goshen’s seal.

“What constitutes the life of our dear *Alma Mater*?,” Miller had continued in pursuit of his theme. To characterize the “Soul of Goshen College,” Miller went on to sketch a parable about a figure he called Jonathan the Healer. Miller’s parable depicted the infant Jonathan moving from birth to maturity, a metaphor for Goshen College’s twenty-eight years of development. Despite heartache and setbacks, Miller concluded his parable, the life of Jonathan the Healer was distinguished by deeds of service, happy fellowship, and love, and ended with Jonathan’s devoted work as a medical missionary to China.

Then Miller left the story about Jonathan to explain how it illustrated Goshen’s history. “The men like J.S. Coffman were the parents who . . . prayed and planned that Goshen College might live,” Miller interpreted his narrative to his peers:

Other churchmen . . . saw only an ordinary child. And those who felt our College’s touch and learned to know her as the neighbors learned to know the doctor [Jonathan] and then called him Healer, have learned to love our college and call her *Alma Mater*.

In its pointed references to the college’s revered founder, to churchmen unconvinced of the school’s value, and to loyal students and alumni, “The Soul of Goshen College” clearly addressed the political dynamics at play at Goshen College in 1922. Passing the emblems at what must have been an emotional moment for the seniors, Miller concluded:

The Class of 1922 has joined hands in the chain of fellowship which grows and grows. . . . Stand true for Goshen College. A thousand things depend on you. Protect her name, foster her ideals of freedom, love and service.

Nine months later, in the turbulent days of March 1923, quite a different Goshen College parable came to mind for Board of Education member Daniel G. Lapp in Roseland, Nebraska, as he contemplated the state of affairs on campus. To board president S.C. Yoder’s request for advice in dealing with the petitions students had presented to the board, Lapp responded,

Their [sic] is only one thing that I can see that can be done, go on maintain the home as best you can with those that will remain

with in its pails [sic] and [those] that are so dissatisfied with home and its surroundings will have to go and explore those fairer fields that they have in their vision, to find that they have many disappointments and failures, which will help many to turn their faces towards father's house again.⁴

In likening Goshen College to an unrepentant prodigal, Lapp expressed the views of more than a few Mennonite observers of the scene. His tone of fatherly exasperation certainly put him in line with his fellow members of the Board of Education, for whom the character and fate of the lively school in their charge had become the increasingly urgent subject of prayer, correspondence, and meetings, without a clear solution to the Goshen problem coming into view.

Yet notwithstanding the polarized characterizations of the college, the need for Goshen College—at least in some idealized form—continued to be felt by all parties. The Board of Education had not closed the college out of a desire to eliminate it. That much is evident in an exchange of letters between board president S.C. Yoder and one E.N. Bell, chairman of the General Council of the Assemblies of God in Springfield, Missouri. No sooner had the board announced in early April 1923 their provisional plan to close the college for one year than Yoder received a precipitous inquiry from Mr. Bell, who had heard the college plant was for sale. If the board would offer the property very cheaply, “at a sacrifice figure,” the Assemblies organization could take it over as their new Bible School.⁵

Weary as S.C. Yoder must have been of his responsibilities in the entire affair, the spectre of Goshen College's campus transformed into an Assemblies of God Bible school appears to have inspired his immediate reply. No, the board was not prepared to sell the Goshen College buildings and grounds, Yoder wrote to Bell on April 21, because it had not yet decided whether to dispose of the plant at all. There was still a chance that it would “reopen the college later under a new internal management.”

Then Yoder went on to describe the board's rationale for closing the college. His declaration to the stranger Bell, succinct as it is, identifies salient points of the unrest surrounding Goshen College in 1923. “The school was not closed because we did not feel the need of it,” Yoder explained, “but rather because it was giving the church unsatisfactory service and in trying for a number of years to rectify matters, things came to a climax this winter and created such conditions that it is impossible to operate with the old line-up of men.”⁶

The fact that critical and sympathetic sentiments coexist in Yoder's statement is hardly surprising in a period whose issues seemed at times self-contradictory and were never simple. The news that Goshen College would close was sobering and deeply-felt on all sides. Some monitors of the college's fortunes believed, with D.G. Lapp, that the prodigal's filial disobe-

dience had forced the issue. To those who shared Wilbur Miller's view of Goshen College, on the other hand, it seemed as if noble Jonathan the Healer, along with his hallmarks of "freedom, service, and love," had been issued an eviction notice at the hands of his own parents. In any case, it seems safe to say that no significant Goshen observers took satisfaction from the suspension of operations in 1923.

Whatever their perspective, all parties interested in Goshen College would have agreed that questions of authority had dogged the institution from start to finish. With authority as one of the undeniable motifs at the heart of the Goshen saga, it is natural that both the student, Miller, and the board member, Lapp, attempted to capture the college situation of the early 1920s using parables about parents and children. The tensions building within the Mennonite Church in the college's earliest years, and dramatized explicitly on the college stage in the early 1920s, originated, one way or another, in the ageless theater of generational politics.

Whether in the spring of 1923 one viewed Goshen College as the paragon Jonathan the Healer staggering under unjust criticisms, or as an unrepentant prodigal son heedless of home truths, depended on where, in the Mennonite family, one felt most at home. The surge of progressive energy among church leaders at the turn of the century transformed—or at least disoriented—Mennonites' understanding of where their church home lay. To use the analogy of the extended family, the church home once anchored in West Liberty or Kalona now also took in, on some spiritual level, Scottsdale (home base of *Gospel Herald*), Chicago (site of the Chicago Home Mission), and harder yet to imagine, Dhamtari, Central Province, India (the Mennonites' first foreign mission field). Furthermore, in the "family" hierarchy of one's home congregation, and that of the denomination generally, younger leaders were making inroads on the preserve traditionally belonging to elder, even elderly, patriarch bishops and ministers. More than the sister endeavors of publishing or missions, that of higher education heightened and exposed generational fault lines in the church, or, to be more accurate, second-generational fault lines, since the college progressives typically found themselves at odds with churchmen—Daniel Kauffman, for instance—who in their own time and sphere had been viewed by the church as mavericks. At the institutional level, the Mennonite Church exercised official control of Goshen College from 1905 on, through the agency of the Board of Education. The new school in Goshen, however, retained an institutional memory of its privately-owned, freer early days in Elkhart. As the church's expanding organizations became more dependent on hierarchy and doctrine to give coherence to Mennonite identity in the second decade of the twentieth century, and modernism became a more frequently-cited enemy of Protestant orthodoxy, the roles of board and college became increasingly stylized in a pantomime struggle between old and new.

Notice, for example, the connections drawn by Eastern Mennonite School president J.B. Smith between liberalism, the coming generation, and, in an interesting play of ideas, the theory of evolution. In 1918 Smith wrote a seven-page letter to the Board of Education, in which he included the following as one of "the most telling views of liberalism":

That the unpopular doctrines of the church are but an accumulation of traditions perpetuated by an ignorant people, however the views of the old folks are to be respected while they live; their criticisms must be patiently borne, for they will soon pass away when intelligence will supplant ignorance, the narrow and bigoted tenets will be regulated [sic] to the dead past and the theory of evolution will be buttressed by another concrete witness.⁷

On the educational and social levels, too, the pioneer Mennonite college in northern Indiana forced a recognition of relative generational authority and distinctions. A college, after all, required most students literally to leave home, and metaphorically to follow the lead of a surrogate parent, "*Alma Mater*." Administrators and faculty were themselves expected to act as surrogate parents both to pupils (and, in some general way, as a parent to the institution). "I must . . . confess that I would lack the faith and confidence to undertake the momentous job of Fathering the School under existing conditions," wrote Joseph S. Shoemaker to S.C. Yoder as Yoder considered the Goshen presidency in 1921.⁸ But at the same time constituents longed for supervision of their young people, they also held the contradictory fear that a freethinking faculty might wield too much influence over its student subjects.

The fact that a college concentrated so many youth in one place meant that the school tended naturally to reflect the still-maturing needs, issues, and problems of its young population—and to recycle those issues for consideration, as if for the first time, about every four years or so. The very underripeness of the student population guaranteed experimentation and high spirits; and the resulting exploits displeased, as frivolous or irreligious, a watching older generation.

At the same time, the purpose of the school was to educate, and thus change, its enrollees. Just as troubling to the older generation as the school's predictable, sophomoric excesses could be its academic successes: young people who emerged from college, confidently matured, with a view to taking an adult role in the church. Would an elite, educated younger generation soon dictate the course of Mennonitism to its elders?

As in the parable of the prodigal son, the conflict within the Mennonite Church family over their children striking out for the unknown ultimately rested on mutual love. But that foundation was obscured at times

by the sound and fury of cross-generational battle. From the late nineteenth century on, the generational dynamics at work on individual and institutional levels in the Mennonite Church, not to mention the actual biological and extended family ties weaving through the brotherhood, meant that discussions of the church's future were marked by the contradictory passions and heightened emotional pitch typical of all family quarrels. Furthermore, thanks to its peculiar mingling of youth and intellectual exploration, the experiment in higher education that was Goshen College especially ushered generational tensions to the forefront of that discussion. Events beyond the campus, but indebted to the college for ideology and alumni organizers, such as the Young People's Conference held in France in 1919, led people to infer a Goshen sponsorship of all that was youthful, progressive, or simply exotic.

Because the Mennonite cross-generational battle lines seldom remained fixed, one must approach the question of Goshen College's early role in church affairs prepared to meet the unexpected. The players and circumstances in the drama of Goshen's closing continually reveal new facets, irregular dimensions, and concealed ironies, all of which contributed to the intensity and difficulty of the situation in 1923, and caution the modern reader from casting the event in any simplistic mold. People once viewed as threats to the old order, like Daniel Kauffman, the upstart Missouri revivalist of the late 1890s, could at a later date find themselves solidly ensconced at the head of the church establishment. At the time of Goshen's closing, several generations who had vied for authority within the rejuvenated church could be symbolically discerned in three men still very much present on the Mennonite scene: the venerable, eighty-eight-year-old publisher, John F. Funk, of the first wave of Mennonite reforms; the middle-aged editor, Kauffman, who had supplanted Funk in Mennonite publishing and lately become Goshen College president; and evangelist-educator John E. Hartzler, the former Goshen president whose free spirit still haunted the Parkside, but whose person now occupied the presidency of Bluffton's Witmarsum Seminary. Each of these figures, in their turn and in varying degrees, had felt their base of authority shift underfoot in response to counter-currents in the church.

Moreover, adjectives like "old" and "new" turn out to be relative, even paradoxical, in this situation. The newest trend in the church was conservatism, a desire to consolidate Mennonite identity around what leaders trusted to be old, traditional ways—though identifying exactly where in American Mennonite history these traditional ways were preserved remains something of a puzzle for present-day students of the scene. The "old" guard in early twentieth-century Mennonitism, to make a rough generalization, were late-nineteenth-century reforming progressives, among them those who after 1923 would be known as products of Old Goshen. To further cloud the

picture, one should add that the truly "old" Mennonite mores of the nineteenth century were not necessarily old-fashioned. These included, in contrast to the more highly-organized structures of late-century, greater congregational autonomy, a more relaxed approach to questions of temperance and styles of dress (especially among the Amish Mennonite group), and probably a more authentically Anabaptist understanding of the need to integrate salvation and discipleship. By the 1920s, the Mennonite Church was metamorphosing rapidly enough that any attempt to clearly delineate the old from the new can be disorienting.

Though conservative writers like Kauffman typically presented Mennonites with a stark choice between the polarities of "conservatism" and "liberalism," there existed in reality variety and gradation along that continuum. Most of the individuals involved on all sides of the struggle actually resist being assigned to tidy categories. Historians have rightly relegated the most extreme accusations of theological modernism made against Goshen figures to the category of overzealous exaggeration—"aiming elephant guns to kill flies," to quote the wonderful phrase of Theron Schlabach.⁹ A mail campaign conducted in 1918 by J.B. Smith, for instance, against a 1915 Goshen alumnus, Lester J. Hostetler, depended heavily on what might be called strenuous misreading.

By pure coincidence, Smith had gained access to installments of a circular letter, a chain of communication established during the summer of 1917 among Lester J. Hostetler and his classmates at Union Theological Seminary. The death that summer of one of the members of the Union class circle, a fellow named A.B. Funkhouser, occasioned a sale of Funkhouser's belongings. As it happened, agents for the new Eastern Mennonite School in Virginia purchasing supplies at that very auction, landed a sale lot of stationary and pamphlets which contained the Union classmates' batch of letters. Writing February 18, 1918, from the president's office of Eastern Mennonite to members of the Mennonite Board of Education, J.B. Smith enclosed a copy of Hostetler's letter.

"Nearly every minute of my time is occupied," Hostetler had written in a bantering vein about his summer regimen in Sugarcreek, Ohio,

in such matters as husbanding a potato patch, making a church canvass, preaching two sermons per Sunday, teaching four music classes, and giving talks at family reunions. As you well imagine, my "big hit" I make in the potato field. I always get results there. However, the other work is far more interesting and I hope some day to be able to do it with all the grace and dignity of a Union Sem [sic] heretic.¹⁰

In his cover letter, Smith summarized the letters of Hostetler's classmates, and appraised Hostetler's entry as follows:

Hostetlers [sic] letter lets 'the cat out of the bag.'

We are keenly reminded of the seriousness and jeopardy of the Goshen Problem [,] for the President [J.E. Hartzler, on the brink of resignation] is a graduate of this same U. Sem'y. . . .

[Hostetler] is evidently parading his talents and achievements . . . he is admitting that he has to hide his grace and dignity for the present as well as his real theological views, but hopes some day (evidently after he has succeeded in blinding the eyes of his hearers) to pose as [a] full fledged U. Sem'y heretic. . . . A man who thus has unwittingly exposed himself in his complicity with the new theology is a minister of the Church and should not only be silenced in the pulpit, but unless he repents his name should not be tolerated on the roll of our beloved Church, standing as she does for the old faith.¹¹

Some crusading conservatives who accused Goshen College of modernism surely grasped at straws to make their point. But progressives could also resort to caricature, applying to conservative bishops phrases like "the divine right of kings," or the labels "the Sanhedrin" or simply "the Brethren." Few among the church's most self-consciously conservative members, concerned as they were about orthodoxy and a "full Gospel," actually took their views to the more extreme reaches of American Fundamentalism—no matter how "fundamentalist" they might have considered themselves to be. Daniel Kauffman observed astutely that Mennonites were fundamentalists "with a small 'f'", in the sense that they reserved the right to include as "fundamental" the Mennonite traditions of nonresistance, nonconformity, and a loving spirit, even in conflict.¹² Kauffman himself, the arbiter and image of Mennonite correctness, stayed a relatively moderate course within the conservative spectrum. Few of the categories or stereotypes devised by either side held fast for very long. An advocate for conservatism as prominent as J.B. Smith could himself be foiled by the mania for consistency: four years after distributing his letter against Lester Hostetler, Smith abruptly resigned the presidency of Eastern Mennonite School rather than relinquish the piano in his home.¹³

Indeed, at times the complexity of the situation surrounding Goshen's closing crossed the border into confusion. The early years of the twentieth century frequently revealed Mennonite progressivism chasing its own tail. As a number of Mennonite historians have documented, control became a significant concern among those leaders entrusted with the activities unleashed by the reinvigorated church.¹⁴ Some of the very leaders who had helped foster a more active church, in time began to question how widely that activity should be allowed to expand Mennonite tradition. There simply were no long-established Mennonite precedents in missions and

education, for instance. Leaders were accordingly at something of a loss to fill authentically the gap between activity and experience. To get a grip on the rapidly growing and changing church and to maintain a coherent denominational identity, they organized, convened, and regulated. Boards, executive councils, and committees burgeoned.

But just as the new ventures were experimental and derivative of Protestant models, the church's attempts to corral them could be improvised or just plain muddled. As church leaders became aware of issues in modern theology, C. Norman Kraus wrote in 1967, they realized they were neither liberals nor modernists, and "in the heat of the moment they simply assumed that they were Fundamentalists."¹⁵ If Daniel Kauffman could reserve a special, lower-case-"f"-style of fundamentalism for Mennonites in order to include the Mennonite "distinctives," he could also apply to "distinct" Mennonitism rigid tests of mass orthodoxy discovered in Protestant Fundamentalism. According to Guy Hershberger, any honest evaluation of the period requires us simply to acknowledge that "Much of the thinking in that era was a confused mishmash."¹⁶ A consistent response to every question occasioned by the new programs was not always obvious. Would the plain garb perhaps hinder city missionaries in their witness? What of those native gentlemen of India's Central Provinces, now Mennonite converts, who violated American Mennonite standards by continuing to wear mustaches? How much autonomy should a college on home shores be allowed to have? Unlike the new converts out in distant India, a college's population was at least within the purview of the governing church. Readily identifiable and centrally located as it was, Goshen College served, more than its particular situation merited, as a lightning rod for general church anxiety about authority and change.

The familial nature of an internal Mennonite disagreement such as this presents a real challenge in developing appropriate terminology, since the archest "conservative" and "liberal" opponents may have continued to address one another as "brother" in correspondence, and to have actually shared dissatisfactions with certain extreme Protestant trends, whether premillennialism or the social gospel.¹⁷ To some extent, the labels conservative, liberal, fundamentalist, and modernist remain unavoidable in discussing the wider context of the college's closing. But participants in the debate objected at the time to the harm done by circulating imprecise, leading terms like "modernist," which could imply anything from bobbed hair to outright atheism. While today we can charge the anti-Goshenites with having carelessly applied "liberal" and "modernist" labels, we can also now recognize that the more reckless members of the besieged Goshen faction could rather indiscriminately paint the brethren on the board and in key Indiana-Michigan conference positions who tried to influence Goshen's course as political maneuverers.¹⁸ Additional allowances have to be made

for the complexity of the individual personalities involved in the debate, and for simple quirkiness.¹⁹

In an effort to fashion a terminology more accurate in the specific Goshen College conflict, it may be helpful to speak in terms of "academics" and "ecclesiastics." "Academic" is meant to convey the primary commitment of the Goshen College people to liberal arts education and the pragmatic, pedagogical necessities of operating in an academic sphere while taking for granted their ultimate allegiance to Christ and the church. It may also at times connote this group's love affair with "academe": the intellectual, sometimes elitist, enclave devoted to learning for its own sake. "Ecclesiastic," on the other hand, implies the explicit, primary authority granted by others to the church in determining college policy. The term ecclesiastic can also appropriately call to mind in certain instances the increased general reliance on hierarchy in matters of official Mennonite Church polity in the first half of the century.²⁰

That these academic and ecclesiastic lines had actually been drawn in the years prior to Goshen's closing becomes clear in the Board of Education correspondence. Repeatedly, the tug of war was expressed in terms of ecclesiastic concerns at one end of the Goshen College rope and, at the other end, the need to consider educational values by their own light. At the time he was being considered by the board as the most likely candidate to succeed George Lapp as Goshen president, H. Frank Reist wrote uneasily to D.D. Miller that the faculty reportedly claim they "won't stand a novice," but "want an educator."²¹

In mid-July 1921, board president S.C. Yoder heard contrasting views. Any number of constituents were eager at that juncture to go on record supporting ecclesiastical considerations first. "It is unfortunate that ability to teach and faithfulness does [sic] not go hand in hand with so many," Bishop J.K. Bixler, secretary of the local conference mission board at Elkhart wrote in a perplexed tone, "but in my mind we had better sacrifice the standing of the school in the eyes of the state than to sacrifice principles dear to our Church." Ben B. King, superintendent and pastor of the Fort Wayne Mission, wrote the board Executive Committee on the same day to advise that they employ only those who are "loyal," even if courses must be dropped. Under a sketch of a hand pointing toward the words, "*No compromise*," George R. Brunk I advised Yoder, "If you cannot get first class orthodox men from the standpoint of education use second class men who are orthodox rather than first class ones who are questionable. . . ."²²

But the following summer revealed equally grave concerns on the part of some Mennonites for educational principles. Yoder had solicited a number of younger Goshen alumni for advice on the college's problems. New Bible department head Amos E. Kreider diplomatically pleaded with Yoder that Goshen's state-recognized educational standards be maintained, what-

ever other changes the board might make. Some of those inside the college who already felt under siege by the board's policies, wrote Kreider, "may regard the board as making two assaults upon the college if they organize it with another head and also take the college out of the standard list."²³ Vernon Smucker, editor of *Christian Monitor* and thus a Scottdale colleague of Daniel Kauffman, wrote to Yoder of Kauffman as a candidate for college president that he was indeed a strong church man "but very weak as an educational administrator, and I do not believe that he could swing the situation at all."²⁴ Clearly, in these and many other instances, competing "academic" and "ecclesiastical" allegiances were at stake behind the discussion of the future of Goshen College.

As with the other labels, one should be cautious in claiming absolute precision for these terms. Goshen College had some opponents who, by their own exposure to higher education, and even by their profession, could legitimately be called "academic." And virtually all Goshen adherents would have called themselves "ecclesiastic" if questioned about their love for the church. Yet where the church group expected theology ("doctrine") to subsume pedagogy, the school party might respond that pedagogy as such was neutral, though indeed its content could have implications for theology. In fact, this very confusion on both sides about the proper provinces of academic and ecclesiastical education contributed additional misunderstanding to the conflict. The fact that imprecision and misunderstanding marked the 1923 debate makes all the more necessary a clear definition of the terms of the Goshen College controversy.

Writing thirty years after Goshen College's closing, John S. Umble suggested that, rather than serious theological differences, a gap in acculturation between Mennonite traditionalists and progressives—what Umble called a "cultural lag" on the part of the conservative church—could be blamed for much of the strife surrounding Mennonite education.²⁵ Working within Umble's assumption of a cultural lag, one might focus particular attention on what could be called an educational split: the divergent notions among early twentieth-century Mennonites about the nature and methods of education as such.²⁶

Higher education in the Mennonite Church was new and strange enough in Goshen College's early years that it inspired among the majority of members, who did not possess it, a skepticism and vague fear born of unfamiliarity. Indeed, concern that Mennonite higher education would lead to an educated elite in the church began to be realized with the formation of Elkhart Institute and then Goshen College, at least to the extent that those schools harbored an *educational* elite. The pioneers of Mennonite education relied by necessity on their experience in non-Mennonite educational centers—and the counsel of more experienced non-Mennonite colleagues—to guide their early efforts. By contrast, most of the ecclesiastical men given

the responsibility of overseeing the school could only imagine how liberal arts colleges actually functioned. They extrapolated from their goals of church unity, and Mennonite doctrinal uniformity, a college program, whereas the college men, through experience, had already internalized and put into place the model of American higher education. Rather than asking how a church might fashion a college, the academics asked, how can this forthrightly pedagogical institution serve the church? Even John S. Coffman in "The Spirit of Progress" implied that the school would accept certain propositions of a classical liberal arts education, and enhance that curriculum with special Mennonite emphases.

College graduates returning to their homes could appear at once mildly ridiculous and intimidating to those who had never left the farm. In manners, dress, carriage, and vocabulary, the college boys and girls had been refined—though to use that word should not imply that the changes were necessarily greeted as improvements by the home folks. Refinement of young people into leaders, the transformation of a student's bearing, vocabulary, and pronunciation, was indeed one of the self-conscious goals of Elkhart Institute's—and then Goshen College's—faculty, a goal embodied in the attention given from the start to literary study and oratory.²⁷ The attention-grabbing word in Goshen's motto, "culture," connoted less prestige to those educational skeptics with some memory of the commonsensical, rural view held by Mennonites past than it did vanity and squandered time.

Yet if the educated few could inspire scorn and irrational fear, they all the same commanded, at minimum, a grudging awe and a certain authority. If anything, participants on the ecclesiastic side of the debate granted higher education a significant amount of status, by emphasizing its tremendous power of influence, whether for good or ill. The practice among some church leaders of branding an individual's doctrinal stand according to whether he had attended Moody Bible Institute, University of Chicago, Union Theological Seminary, or some other school, or of compiling lists of those post-graduate institutions acceptable for selection by Goshen and Hesston grads, gave many the impression that the ecclesiastics devalued learning. On the contrary, the church leaders' respect for education's power urged them to take a such a defensive posture regarding schools.

Perhaps it is not going too far to say that in its rarity, mystique, and worldly associations, education at the turn of the century carried something like a taboo for many Mennonites. An education taboo might partially explain what C. Norman Kraus viewed as "the violent and fundamentalist reaction which dominated the mood of the denomination," out of proportion to the threats in question.²⁸ Certainly a review of the lurid vocabulary frequently applied to the college by negative critics—rot, canker, pesthouse, and so forth—suggests some kind of elemental reaction.²⁹

At the same time, a culture's taboos take root in experience, and bear some memory of reality. No one, after all, expected students enrolled in a Christian educational institution to remain spiritually neutral; the battle would be fought over the nature and direction of that spiritual development. Inasmuch as ecclesiastics feared students' exposure to new theological ideas, they had grounds for fear at Goshen College. Upon enrolling at Goshen for her senior year in 1917, for example, Elizabeth Horsch (Bender) had the definite sense that she had arrived at a setting "where theological views leaned at least to a certain degree toward the liberal side." She also implied, speaking late in life on the question of her husband Harold Bender's theological conservatism, that some of the Bluffton and Old Goshen faculty "wavered on the atonement," a possibility also suspected by some who had read writing by these figures in the alternative Mennonite journal, *The Christian Exponent*.³⁰ Writing in 1979, professor emeritus Guy F. Hershberger, whose faculty tenure at Goshen College, like Elizabeth Bender's, began shortly after the college reopened with a largely new faculty in 1924, intimated that Old Goshen modes of modern thought, gone unchecked, would have led the institution away from its Mennonite bearings.³¹

At the very least, the classrooms of N.E. Byers, Paul E. Whitmer, and others among early Old Goshen instructors nurtured free intellectual exploration within the larger context of Christian orthodoxy. A 1909 letter to President Byers from alumna and recent faculty member Anna Kauffman Hess tantalizingly opens one window on the first decade at Goshen. Hess, an intellectual warmly sympathetic to Goshen's traditions, nonetheless cautioned Byers about his faculty's free dispensation of liberal views. She recalled that Byers' psychology and ethics courses were the most "revolutionary." Arriving at Indiana University following her student years at Goshen, Hess had discovered that religious thought gleaned from Byers and Whitmer helped one to be "thoroughly in sympathy with the modern trend." Her Goshen background had left her more fully prepared for a class on William James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience* than ministers enrolled in the course had been. The upshot of Hess's letter was to advise Byers that not all students would have the ability to encounter Goshen's new ideas with equanimity. These students should be kept orthodox and discouraged from attending graduate school. Only in private, to those students who already feel the anguish of "the reconstruction period coming on," should faculty members reveal their more radical ideas.³²

Aside from raising the interesting possibility of two student types at Goshen, "reconstructed" and otherwise, Hess's letter suggests faculty awareness of contemporary intellectual thought of a level sufficient to launch graduates successfully into the secular rigors of graduate study.³³ Yet for all the frank testimony to new thinking by Anna Kauffman Hess and others,

the point seems to be that Goshen's liberalism had a breadth extending beyond strict theology. The kind of broad-minded preparation Hess had received at the early Goshen was rooted primarily in pedagogical, rather than specifically theological, principles. Fruitfully available for discussion between academics and ecclesiastics, especially in light of students experiencing spiritual "reconstructions," might have been questions of intellectual freedom, ecumenism, historical criticism, and biblical interpretation. Instead, the discussion of issues truly pertinent in the immediate Goshen College setting detoured at the mere hint of those frightening academic bogeymen: "the new theology," "the higher criticism," and "modernism."

Still, one must be careful not to caricature Goshen's critics as absolutely opposed to education. Those finding fault with Goshen College seldom spoke against Mennonite education as a general proposition. A Virginia group, dissatisfied with Goshen's perceived failure to "safeguard" its Mennonite students, responded by founding another school, Eastern Mennonite. To speak of the Indiana-Michigan Conference men as an "anti-education" faction, for example, belies the fact that Bishops D.J. Johns and D.D. Miller, two of the local conference's most forceful proponents of strict church discipline in the period of the Goshen controversy, were themselves experienced school teachers. Johns had earlier proved himself progressive in the area of Sunday schools. Miller, minister of the Forks Amish Mennonite congregation near Middlebury, Indiana, had determined to be a school teacher while still a child.

Bishop Daniel D. and Jeanette Hostetler Miller (his former pupil), in fact, with their eleven children, supply an interesting illustration of the overlapping church and college loyalties possible within a single family. Eldest son Orie O. Miller had an early memory of his father stopping the family wagon by an uncut Goshen wheat field, indicating to the boy the site of a new Mennonite college Orie would one day attend. D.D. and Nettie Miller continued, even when the college was most under suspicion, to send their numerous progeny to be educated at Goshen, one of whom, Ernest E., later became a Goshen College president. Bishop D.D. Miller, of course, served many years on the Board of Education, and Orie Miller played a highly important role there for years as the board's financial agent. W. Wilbur Miller, emblem orator for the Goshen College Class of 1922, became a leading administrator in the public schools of Columbus, Ohio. This family's relationship to the college obviously defies the simple assumptions one might be tempted to make, considering the ways Bishop Miller's insistence on rigorous church discipline put him at odds with the school.³⁴ Granted, the firestorm of criticism against Goshen probably stemmed, in part, from a residue of outright opposition to education held over from earlier times. But those in a position in the church to guide its course into the new century had endorsed higher education. It was no longer a question of whether

to provide education for the youth of the community. Now the pertinent question was, what kind of education?

This was the pressing question which, in 1923, academics and ecclesiastics had found impossible to resolve to their mutual satisfaction. The crucial difference in perspective which colored every aspect of the Goshen College quarrel had to do with the basic meaning of education. To the academics, true education consisted of a kind of liberation; in the ecclesiastic view, the ideal education took the form of indoctrination, that is, a means of conveying doctrine to the next generation. The two views received clear articulation early on in pieces published about three years apart in the *Elkhart Institute Monthly*. In an article of 1899 entitled "Bondage," C. Henry Smith outlined the ways in which education was a liberator. "The whole object of education," Smith wrote, "is to break up old habits of thought. . . ." Education properly destroys "the ruts into which we have fallen," and frees our minds "from all influences which tend to lead in a prescribed channel." Daniel Kauffman, on the other hand, declared in 1902 that the denominational school is founded on one idea: "That it is important that our young people be protected from the dangers of the sinful and selfish world" In the care of such a school, youth should be "thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles of true Christianity."³⁵ To refer again to the parable of the prodigal, Mennonite academics wished to focus on the lad's setting out from home—his quest—while the ecclesiastics involved in education concerned themselves with his return: what shape would he be in when he got back? J.S. Coffman's "Spirit of Progress" had with its remarkable balance concerned itself both with educational leave-taking and faithful homecoming—perhaps an explanation for the contending parties' dispute, as tensions mounted toward 1923, over claims to Coffman's legacy.

To credit education as a liberating, developmental force was, of course, consistent with the collegial, liberal arts direction in which the future Goshen College was headed in 1899 under young Noah Byers' leadership. C. Henry Smith had earlier given voice to similar ideas in two articles written for the *Young People's Paper*, on the subjects "Reading and Home Education," and "The True Aim of Education." In the first of these essays, Smith addressed himself in encouraging tones to young people unable at present to attend a college. The capacity for self-education, he argued, is a prerequisite to all learning, whether or not it includes the privilege of formal education. To his young readers Smith prescribed "star study" (astronomy), a close appreciation of nature, and graduated readings in Shakespeare, Homer, Milton, Longfellow, and Dante. In the second essay, Smith underlined the lifelong nature of true learning, and distinguished genuine education, which was ongoing, from static, abstract knowledge. The institutional trappings of education, such as book-learning or enrollment in a school, he contended, must be secondary to the use one makes of knowl-

edge, the "relations" between acquired knowledge and the outside world. "There are many men who possess a wonderful degree of knowledge and are by far inferior to some poor plough boy."³⁶

Though at first glance Smith appears indifferent in these articles to institutional structures, the young writer (signing himself simply Henry Smith in 1895, soon thereafter adopting the first initial to embellish his plain name) had actually laid out the broad image of education that would be favored in Goshen's early years. It is an image that, in some respects, reflects the open-minded, forward-looking visage of the youth and leaders of the Mennonite late-nineteenth-century—many from independent-minded Amish Mennonite communities not themselves immune to modest cultural exposure—who put their imprint on the new college.

A 1908 letter from Daniel Kauffman to President Noah Byers reveals something of the vision behind the educational stance of at least one prominent ecclesiastic. Byers had written a circular letter seeking advice on church-college relations. At the close of his kindly, encouraging, evenhanded response, Kauffman wrote that Mennonite education, publishing, and missions shared a common task: to agree on the same "type" of a model Christian. "We should agree as to the type and all work together in the manufacture of that kind of a product. That point accomplished, we have done a great deal in the cause of unity and good will."³⁷ The statement casts light forward on Kauffman's emphases in the *Gospel Herald* through the next thirty-some years. It also adds to our picture of education as the acquisition of doctrine, with sameness and uniformity the goal of that approach.

By contrast, the former dean and professor of education John J. Fisher, promoting accreditation for Mennonite colleges early in 1924 in *The Christian Exponent*, interpreted for a Mennonite audience the requirement that "The spirit of the institution shall be such as makes for genuine scholarship." "There is nothing in it which bars a wholesome religious atmosphere or due emphasis on the distinctive doctrines of the denomination," Fisher wrote.

It does, however, imply a certain freedom of inquiry, an unbiased search for the truth, and independence of thought. In fact such a spirit must pervade an institution if those who study there shall make personal discovery of the real values of life. And only those making such discovery will be able to interpret these values to the present generation in terms of modern life. Anything but such a spirit stifles the mind and falls short of fostering genuine education.³⁸

The freedom of inquiry the academics envisioned for Mennonite education could hardly be squared with the fixity of doctrine the ecclesiastics hoped their colleges would produce. From the conservative point of view,

one could add, Goshen College already produced a predictable “type,” whose praise of open-mindedness and freedom bore the imprint of a modernist mold. The academic progressive honored, at least in theory, a pluralistic community of learning, while Daniel Kauffman and others declared there was to be “no middle ground” in the Mennonite Church. If a man says he’s neither fundamentalist nor modernist, Kauffman wrote, he must really be one or the other. The middle ground some claim they occupy, he commented on another occasion, is really an abyss; one must choose sides.³⁹ George R. Brunk I also warned against “the evil effect of compromise” in the church, naming former president George Lapp and S.F. Coffman of Ontario as men “who try to ride two horses and fall down between them.”⁴⁰

Quite a contrasting understanding of individual conviction and growth can be found in lines written by A.E. Kreider to S.C. Yoder. The college needed to have faculty working in sympathy with the church, Kreider stated, but “it is possible to *cultivate* loyalty to the church if it is not found among the faculty”⁴¹ If we can assume the never inflammatory Kreider to be fairly representative of the campus view, then one important tenet in the academics’ educational vision was a belief in the possibility of personal growth and cultivation, with the individual planted in the very “middle ground” of comparative evaluation the ecclesiastics rejected.

A vision of education as experiential, personal nourishment which transcends classroom, texts, or instructors, that provides a life-long resource, and yet is flexible enough for alteration, must eventually conflict with a doctrinaire model of education, which attempts to narrow the range of materials, predict student response to a proscribed curriculum, and present the selected knowledge as a body of received truths immune to change. At the outer limits of the two views lay the hazards of secular, individualistic and relativistic intellectualism, at the one extreme, and doctrinaire force-feeding of faith at the other—neither of which were acceptable to any portion of the brotherhood, but extremes which academics and ecclesiastics at times nonetheless suspected of each other’s schemes for the college.

An extremely important feature in the emerging Goshen College profile, of course, was the uniting of culture with service in the college motto. Noah Byers’ inspired yoking of these two ideals in that generous phrase, “Culture for Service,” provided one means of negotiating a passage between the liberal arts and the restricted Bible-centered curriculum desired by some. Too often, though, the motto was perceived to hold out two competing concepts, rather than to present an integrated idea that embodied something more than its parts. According to his own calculations during the turmoil of March 1923, Bishop D.J. Johns grumbled to S.C. Yoder, the church pays two-thirds of the cost for each student to attend Goshen College, “and yet

she shall have no right to say whether that culture shall be for service in the church or in the world.”⁴²

Throughout the college's first thirty years, the conflicting pedagogical expectations of liberation and indoctrination repeatedly collided, though sometimes on a more subliminal than explicit level. The friction created by these colliding convictions, however, was palpable enough, and made itself felt in any number of areas. Would the academic estate one day rival the ecclesiastic establishment for authority? What form would a future, educated church take? Was Mennonite unity possible within a body divided along intellectual and cultural lines? Did traditional nonconformity prohibit scholars' induction into the brotherhood of science, world literature, and art? Did it permit adoption of certain American collegial ways? Was true nonconformity perhaps more a matter of individual conscience than of hem length and lapels? Placed under historical scrutiny in the academy, would Mennonitism reveal origins and emphases different than those of its present form?

“It always seemed to me it was first school then church with them rather than church then school,” J.M. Kreider of Missouri wrote Sanford Yoder about the academic crowd in July 1921.⁴³ The devotion to educational principles exhibited by Elkhart's teaching staff and then Goshen's faculty contributed to the notion that education, unlike mission or publishing, was somehow competitive for members' loyalty with church itself. Even the oldest Old Goshenite would have unhesitatingly said that the college existed to serve the church, not the other way around. But academics and ecclesiastics, though they harbored different sets of hopes and fears, agreed that the future of the Mennonite Church would be intimately tied to developments at this central church school. Coffman had unabashedly made the point that the Elkhart Institute would help retain the coming generation for Mennonitism, and, thus faithfully retained, the college group wanted a Mennonite Church that reflect their active, academically-influenced presence. For those ecclesiastics wishing to place the college in the train of the church, much depended on the academics' compliance. Without it, the church's future surely promised factionalism or schism.

Many Elkhart and Goshen students did indeed exit the college portals eager to serve the church, yet uncertain whether that church could truly accommodate their post-graduate enthusiasms and broadened views. Those who met with resistance or felt alienation once back in their home congregations found it easy to believe the college to be the only sympathetic church institution. Anna Kauffman, President Byers' admiring correspondent, upon leaving her faculty position at the time of her marriage to A.M. Hess in 1909 wrote warmly to Byers:

Before I came to Goshen I was a Mennonite because my forefathers were, now I am a Mennonite because I want to be. I have a

religion that far outstrips the generally accepted Mennonite doctrine but I am loyal in heart to the church and her young people and I acquired that loyalty from watching you.⁴⁴

The college should certainly never supplant the church, but it could nonetheless lead it in productive new directions: this was essentially the point Acting President I.R. Detweiler had tried to lead readers to see in his 1921 "Mission of the Church College" articles in the *Record*.

Academics and ecclesiastics alike repeatedly inferred the appearance of the future landscape of the Mennonite Church from the seeds sown at the college. Vernon Smucker in 1916 declined to join Goshen's faculty, but pledged loyalty to Goshen "and the things she stands for. I am convinced that the future of our Church depends on the success of her work."⁴⁵ Shortly after George Lapp was named president of the college in 1918, Byers himself advised him that to make a success of the presidency, he would have to get the support of the church behind "liberally educating her young people. If you fail this will be delayed for more than a generation and that would be fatal for the old church."⁴⁶

Two days later, a representative of the first wave of reinvigorated Mennonite activity, Illinois bishop J.S. Shoemaker, advised Lapp, "The future welfare of our beloved Church will depend on the character of our schools, hence [it is] so very essential that they may go forth as champions of the faith and peculiar doctrines of the Church."⁴⁷ Similarly, in 1921 Indiana-Michigan bishop J.K. Bixler believed the church's future to hang in the Goshen College balance. The possibility of a conservative rearrangement of college affairs was "the question of the hour for the Mennonite Church. [Goshen College] influences the Church more than any other of its Boards or institutions, with the possible exception of the Publishing House."⁴⁸ On March 15, 1923, just days before the board announced the closing of the college, John Umble, an alumnus of the Elkhart Institute who longed to see the college survive, had advised the stalwart college loyalist Rudy Senger against obstinate antagonism toward the conference bishops. At the time Umble wrote to him, Senger and others from the College congregation were defying the Board of Education and Indiana-Michigan conference bishops on grounds of personal conscience. Temporary submission to church demands, Umble counseled urgently, would in fact prove a truer, farsighted loyalty to the college cause. "Submit," Umble wrote Senger, "... [and] the future history of the church can speak of you as a faithful and progressive few who . . . bore injustice and temporary defeat in order to secure real justice and vindication and ultimate victory." In the otherwise certain event of Goshen's closing, Umble advised, "you will go down bearing the odium of having caused many to stumble and of having brought to naught the slow but steady progress of a quarter-century of Mennonite history."⁴⁹ With

all sides investing in the college the future welfare of the church, the likelihood that the church would reap both inspiration and conflict was greater than if the school had been left to go its autonomous way.

As graduates returned home from college freer in spirit and self-assurance, the home folks, for their part, could not help but picture a freewheeling future church, led by these knowledgeable, at times impatient, collegians. The home folks naturally viewed that picture with ambivalence. One of the ways a Goshen education enfranchised students was to enable them to travel freely within more than one cultural or social milieu. In keeping with the liberal arts tradition, the time spent at college translated into a kind of cultural passport, giving its holder access to worlds formerly unknown. College opened new doors, to the literary salon, or the performance stage, or the graduate school seminar, or the political debate. Access to the refinements of culture in the American social sense meant the ability to pass as a citizen beyond the narrow borders of the Mennonite rural community. To prepare students to move freely and assuredly once out in the world is the traditional task of the American college, but in Mennonite circles that world-conquering dimension of academe naturally caused some discomfort.

The most difficult cultural doorway for a graduate to pass through was often the one leading back home. As Anna Kauffman Hess wrote frankly in 1909 to mentor Noah Byers, listening to Byers and Professor Paul Whitmer while at college was all good and well for a Goshen student; once home, no longer quite in harmony with one's church and home people, the graduate could find himself in a "tragic situation." Vestiges of the education taboo lingered in home communities to the extent that returning college boys and girls were watched closely for evidence of uppityness or affectation; community elders held out high praise for those few native sons and daughters who, through deliberate efforts and a humble spirit, maintained the trust and affection of the home folks.

But such successes were not easy to pull off. Time spent away at college produced young people who did not merely think different thoughts; they thought differently. With debate as strong an element as it was in Goshen's literary societies and forensic programs, all students brought home at least the basics of logic and rhetoric and a grasp of the potential of argument to advance thought. Some students such as Lester Hostetler, J.C. Meyer, Orie B. Gerig, and Amos E. Kreider, to name a few, excelled in debate competitions. The ecclesiastic mode was that of the literal and concrete; the college-trained academics had begun to make room for the rational, the abstract, the psychological.

Some students took skeptical notice of the obtuse arguments supporting doctrines which seemed suspiciously more like human tradition than biblical mandate. Elizabeth Bender remembered that once when she ques-

tioned J.B. Smith, a highly accomplished Greek scholar, on the biblical evidence for the bonnet as women's headgear, Smith quickly responded that there was the Old Testament phrase in which the Lord says, "I will take away your bonnets" (Isaiah 3:18-20). The student Elizabeth Horsch Bender's own 1918 essay on the superiority of any thought over ignorance, coolly preferred erroneous thinking to no thought at all.⁵⁰ Samuel Burkhard wrote to fellow alumni in April 17, 1923, stating the case for reason this way: "If one were given to the doctrine of 'might makes right' he might use dynamite to dislodge the obstacles to progress, but since this method is against all democratic procedure the only method left is to settle the matter in the realm of ideas."⁵¹

There was no question that the college men and women spoke differently than before they left home. The Mennonite language shift from German to English had begun within fairly recent memory and had not completely played itself out; now returning scholars imported even newer modes of expression from the academic front, language usage that could easily be seen as exclusive, proud, or threatening. Consider the rapid-fire, self-confident cadences of J.C. Meyer, writing in this case to his peer H.S. Bender:

You wonder what I think of the present church leaders. . . . Let me be frank. . . . I have all respect for my mother. I love her as most Christian men should. I think I have never spoken evil of her all these years. But that does not make me think she would be a good "trained nurse." Good intentions may pave a road but it may lead to where I do not want to go.⁵²

Meyer's very meaning is in his witty method. But in such a clever style lay plentiful opportunities for misunderstanding by sober-minded literalists.

For their part, active conservatives in the church wielded their own coded language. Certain vocabulary on loan from Fundamentalism, such as "plenary and verbal inspiration," came to be important test phrases among ecclesiastics. A technical scholarly phrase like "Biblical criticism," which could have been regarded as a neutral term implying close reading and study, instead signaled to the ecclesiastical party a negative, disdainful approach to Scripture.⁵³ Irony broadened an academic speaker or writer's range of expression, but with its double perspective it could be mistaken for duplicity. Perhaps no more effective and unfortunate an example of misread academic irony of the time exists than alumnus Lester Hostetler's jocular 1917 letter to Union Theological Seminary peers, cited above, in which the good-humored, self-deprecating nuances of his vow some day to work "with all the grace and dignity of a Union Sem [sic] heretic" either escaped notice, or were interpreted as evidence of deceit. Allusion, puns, metaphor, understatement, sarcasm, satiric wit—all treasured elements of

the intellectual's rhetorical repertoire—had about them the suspicious ring of fiction to a traditionally non-literary people, who were in the process of elevating “plainness” in all things even above customary simplicity.

If college-talk wasn't exactly fictitious, it nevertheless functioned as a code among insiders. Two estates within the church, the Goshen-immersed and the uninitiated, though far from being officially recognized entities, nonetheless made competing claims on the church membership. The geographical confines of the small Goshen campus suggested an enclave to begin with. Then there was the shared experience within those borders, what Goshen academics frequently referred to as the college's “inner life” or “spirit.” This hard-to-define quantity itself became part of the cultural nourishment absorbed while at the school. Student orator Wilbur Miller had described this spirit when he decoded in fervent tones his story about Jonathan the Healer. “Those who felt our College's touch,” Miller proclaimed, “and learned to know her as the neighbors learned to know the doctor and then called him Healer, have learned to love our college and call her *Alma Mater*.”

While Goshen College transmitted liberal arts culture to students, it also engendered its particular institutional culture. Goshen College “culture,” in fact, could be transported into far-off territories beyond traditional Mennonite bounds, as 1913 graduate George J. Lapp testified from his India mission station to President J.E. Hartzler in 1916: “We Goshenites [in India] got together a good many times, sang College songs, rehearsed college experiences (wise and otherwise), and expressed our many regrets that we were not able to be in our *Alma Mater* more.”⁵⁴ When Goshen graduates M.C. and Lydia Lehman alighted at their Central Provinces mission compound, they were astonished to hear Indian schoolboys serenade them with a Hindi version of the Goshen College song.⁵⁵

Others, who lacked a Goshen initiation, viewed the ineffable college culture less as a healing touch than as an unhealthy taint. “Wherever Goshen lays their hand *Blight* immediately follows,” wrote A.J. Bendle of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, to J.B. Smith in 1918, “the head covering begins to shrink until it is only the size of a mushroom; the bangs begin to grow; the jewelry business begins to flourish. . . and the County Commissioners have to print more ballots!”⁵⁶ The Lancaster Conference charged the India Mission with being “Goshenized” by its alumni field personnel, as if the college spirit were some kind of infection. In a similar vein, George R. Brunk I accused Daniel Kauffman of allowing the Mennonite Publishing House to be “three-fourth Goshenized”—a view of Scottdale the embattled Goshen camp could hardly have agreed with less.⁵⁷ Even a member of Mennonite academe like Hesston College president D.H. Bender could cast a cold eye on Goshen and its aura. If the board abandons the college at Goshen, Bender counseled S.C. Yoder in 1922, “The graveyard in which the

present management would decay would be a strong stench to combat with. Its poisonous fumes might inoculate even the most healthful." Perhaps if the board were to rehabilitate the college entirely, mused Bender, effecting a total overhaul of the faculty "so that the entire Goshen spirit would be swallowed up," the board could then make a go of continuing Goshen College.⁵⁸

Speaking to the faculty in 1919, new Goshen president George Lapp emphasized the need for "careful diplomacy within and without," and the importance of coordinating "the inside and the outside consistently."⁵⁹ The advice of George R. Brunk I on reorganizing Goshen, should Yoder have taken the presidency at that time, was to "get enough *outside men* in under you that will prevent disloyalism in faculty work. You will never swing it with Goshen trained men or Goshen sympathizers."⁶⁰

Thus Goshen College found itself to be a kind of clearinghouse, positioned at a crossroads between two outside worlds. As an enclave of learning, it possessed a vital inner life of its own. It also opened onto two separate outer realms, that of the World (non-Mennonite), and that of the Mennonite population uninitiated in Goshen ways. When the college closed in 1923, it ironically did so primarily as the casualty of its clashes with that encircling Mennonite world, whose protective spirit of progress J.S. Coffman had once likened to a pavilion. And it fell victim to the outsider enemies Coffman had truly feared, "popular opinion and worldly aspirations," in the form of criticisms wielded by fellow Mennonites in the ecclesiastical group.

The walls dividing the college from its own Mennonite constituency surely could have been lowered, if not abolished, through more aggressive goodwill encounters within and without the campus. One aspect of Goshen's inner life frequently overlooked by outside observers, for example, was the mundane but inexorable need simply to keep the college operating smoothly. Reading J.E. Hartzler's presidential correspondence, one has to feel sympathy for an administrator whose daily mail—often reaching him on the road as he canvassed for support among the Ohio or Illinois churches might include his music instructor's third request for a blackboard in his studio, a polite refusal from the president of a farm equipment manufacturer to donate a cream separator, and his treasurer's fretful reminders that the college debt was mounting. Members of today's computer generation must feel staggered by the amount of time church, conference, and college leaders spent attacking, defending, clarifying, and confiding by handwritten or typewritten letters—not to mention the degree to which the routine, noncontroversial business of the day had to be carried out by correspondence.⁶¹ Accusing letters, to which an instant response was necessarily delayed, or circular letters designed to spread news among a wide constituency, did their share of mischief. One telling exchange of letters between President Hartzler and the vocally conservative evangelist Clayton F. Derstine

featured the two men, type-cast as opponents, agreeing with mutual relief that contrary to rumors flooding the mails, they had never even held a conversation about the End Times, much less fallen out over the issue.⁶² One gets the feeling that outsiders concerned with orthodoxy and protocol, but less familiar with college routines, failed to appreciate the immediate demands and stresses of running a school. In the summer of 1921, for example, when all concerned with Goshen's future were "on the sea of uncertainty," the faculty doggedly went ahead with business of drawing up syllabi, registering students, and even canvassing for donations in spare moments.

At various points one finds presidents Byers, Hartzler, Lapp, Reist, and Detweiler all commenting on the church's need for greater contact with the life of the college, and inviting detractors into the school to observe its spirit themselves. Yet the insider-outsider mentality was a hardy habit, difficult for both sides to overcome. Certain student *Record* pieces, for example, surprise today with what seems like a tactless caricature of the home folks as superstitious, laughable, barely articulate rubes. "What the Mailman Carries," a send-up of a letter from Aunt Barbara Belinda Blunderbouncer to Niece Ima at Goshen College, employed crude, uneducated spelling and turns of phrase, and ended with Aunt Barbara's advice to her niece to learn housekeeping and prepare for marriage rather than spend time "out there" running to school after newfangled ideas (February 1919). At the same time, visitors from outside were known to display a willful immunity to the inner college spirit. Class of 1918 member Elizabeth Horsch Bender, questioned in the 1980s about the tensions surrounding the college during her senior year, recalled a particular critic of the college from Missouri. "Everything that he saw at Goshen called for adverse comment," she recollected. "No credit given at all to the spirit—he would have been incapable of seeing the spirit or feeling the spirit."⁶³

The notion that behind Goshen College doors flourished some exclusive, initiates' culture, a notion entertained in different ways by academics and ecclesiastics alike, nurtured outsiders' suspicions that the college people harbored a secret liberal agenda, concealed by means of duplicity and "jugglery" of argument. Also contributing to this suspicion, as we have seen, were differing modes of expression and thought, two fundamentally different approaches to education, a tendency to overlook the considerable demands of school operation, and a holdover of the simple theory that cleverness was tantamount to cunning. Furthermore, by the early 1920s, Fundamentalism was abroad in American Protestantism to the extent that it could add to Mennonites' own misgivings about the integrity of its scholars a millennially-tinged concern for the unmasking of hidden apostasy. Goshen was not the only object of such scrutiny; leaders in Lancaster Conference believed Bluffton College to be "unsound enough beneath the

surface," and Bluffton's Witmarsum Seminary merely to "camouflage" itself as Mennonite.⁶⁴

"You need have no fears of the support of the aggresso-conservative element of the church when once it becomes generally known that it is both the avowed and the actual policy of the school to work along [conservative] lines," Daniel Kauffman had assured President Byers in 1908. But doubts about a gap between Goshen's avowals and actualities plagued the college until its closing. In the early 1920s, the perception of that gap particularly exercised J.H. Mosemann Sr. of Lancaster. "Deception, duplicity, trickery, hoodwinking and such like have been practiced upon the church in my judgment to the very limit by these men who were operating the institution," he protested in 1921, adding one year later, "the professed changes [at Goshen] from time to time have been mere hoaxes."⁶⁵

What seemed like waffling by the academics on questions that, to the doctrinally-minded, were completely unambiguous, arose at least in part from the college-fostered belief that one's education, including one's faith formation, evolved over a lifetime and depended on one's developing experience and inner light for reinforcement. In faculty eyes to make, despite ambivalence, a pragmatic concession to "the law," as the Goshen faculty did on conference dress regulations in 1918, while reserving the right to reinterpret its "spirit," allowed them to serve a larger cause (smoothing relations with the church, in that case) without compromising individual consciences. Such a move struck the Indiana-Michigan Conference powers as further proof of the academics' double standard: giving assent to doctrine in order to appease the outsiders, dodging the rules within the sheltering walls of the institution. One such conference member, Fort Wayne Mission pastor Ben B. King, asked in 1921 whether the Goshen faculty were simply masquerading as Mennonites, "for policy's sake."⁶⁶

In fact, the entire institution-building climate of the Mennonite Church in the early twentieth century begged the exact questions that tended to cluster around the axis of Goshen College. A church agenda resting on hierarchy, doctrine, policy, and regulation, formulated and attended to by a limited number of key Mennonites, naturally urged an examination of the proper relationship between the leading few and the following many. Furthermore, the church doctrines being promoted had to do with issues of inner faith and its acceptable outer manifestations that were parallel, in their way, to the insider-outsider dynamic at play between church and college.

Given the difference in views of education described above, Mennonites involved in the college controversy also failed to agree on what forms nonconformity and separation from the world should take. Some among Goshen College's defenders detected inconsistency in a church dictating to its members the ethic of nonconformity. The doctrinally-minded ecclesiastics, for their part, distinguished between mimicry of the ways of a sinful

world, and submission in faithfulness to church teaching. They also argued that collective nonconformity afforded Mennonites an opportunity to present to the world a unified front of biblical distinctiveness. Some among the intellectually inclined academics, without thorough historical knowledge of the subject, chose to internalize the principle, casting Mennonite nonconformity in what they believed to be the authentically Anabaptist light of an individual's freedom of conscience.⁶⁷

With time, the double-edged issue of nonconformity crystallized for Mennonites around the subject of dress. Some of the importance attached to apparel probably derived from a last-stand mentality in the denomination's conservative wing. Because other concrete Mennonite distinctives were on the wane or had vanished, dress was made to carry a burden of significance—both positive and negative—disproportionate to its actual value.⁶⁸ For one thing, the collectively-intuited standards of modesty and simplicity of dress traditionally consulted by Mennonites were layered over in the early twentieth century with far more explicit codes of apparel, whose norm was no longer simplicity, but plainness—an important aesthetic distinction.⁶⁹ The importance placed on modes of dress was especially problematic for a young adult college population, who, if it was ever going to take personal satisfaction in variety, handsomeness, and modernity of dress, would do so in this social hothouse away from home.

Furthermore, the dress regulations went beyond the desire for uniform outer appearance, and made of clothing a test of one's inner conformity. Dress could function as a helpful symbolic marker in that scheme proposed by Daniel Kauffman to Noah Byers in 1908, regarding a churchwide plan to create orthodox "types." And yet to make costume the arbiter of faithfulness carried nagging implications. Daniel Kauffman had also observed to Noah Byers back in 1909 that the church and college must beware of hanging a "regulation coat" on a man who has no "regulation heart."⁷⁰ A change of clothes only after a change of heart was indeed recognized as the official priority. But in a church alert to any deviance from the prescribed norm, clothes had a way of investing their wearer, or an occasion to which they were worn, with holiness, not the other way around. For example, we find Daniel Kauffman suggesting to President Byers in 1908 that literary and commencement exercises be of such a character that the women's devotional covering be appropriate at all of them, that is, pursuing in rather circuitous fashion a goal of introducing prayer and other elements of worship into more college activities. Here the goal would seem to have been to create opportunities for women to don the covering, rather than to nurture a community's receptivity to prayer and devotion.

The inversion of this order of priority troubled some academic community members enough that they called the issue a matter of individual, not communal, integrity, and explicitly declined to don regulation garb.

Goshen Dean C.B. Blosser frankly laid out to Indiana-Michigan Conference representatives in 1920 that he had no personal conviction regarding plain dress, that he was convinced there was danger in overemphasizing some of these teachings, and that for him to put on the regulation garb, under false pretense, would only give license to others in the church to hide sin behind a mask of conformity. Chemistry professor J.M. Kurtz stated on the same occasion that he could not put on the plain coat and remain an honest man. And we noted earlier the penetrating comment made at the time by J.C. Meyer: "We must work with ordinary human beings rather than with ideal [ones]; human beings are not cut over the same pattern."⁷¹ Clearly, when he spoke of human beings cut over a pattern, J.C. Meyer alluded in his imagery to the question of clothing. But his image also dramatized in a more general way the human distortions that could result from an imposed conformity.

In an autobiography he requested not be published until after his death, early Goshen professor and dean Paul E. Whitmer recorded his inner struggle between personal and denominational nonconformity. At the end of Goshen College's summer session on August 17, 1916, Whitmer received a summons from President Hartzler to come on the evening train to Shipshewana, Indiana, where the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Sunday School Conference was underway. In Shipshewana, Whitmer's train was met by President Hartzler and Professor I.R. Detweiler. Sitting in Hartzler's automobile, the men relayed to Whitmer the gist of discussions held with Indiana-Michigan Conference ministers attending the conference. Those discussions had convinced Hartzler and Detweiler that the continued employment of Goshen's current personnel would depend on their adherence to the demands on dress. Detweiler especially insisted that the stark choice held out by the local conference was either to "conform or get out." From the conversation in the automobile, Whitmer gathered that his colleagues were planning to conform, at least for the time being, and, expected him to join them.

Following this encounter, with the summer session he had coordinated behind them, Dean Whitmer and his wife, Fannie Yoder of West Liberty, Ohio, then set out on a long anticipated, three-day trip to Niagara Falls, their young boys in the care of Grandmother Nancy Yoder in West Liberty. But contrary to their expectations for their holiday, the trip to Niagra took on the intensive flavor of a professional and family summit, as the Whitmers pondered the implications of Paul's evening summons to Shipshewana. They loved Goshen College and had expected to remain in Goshen permanently. Nevertheless, on the final evening of the trip, Whitmer posted a letter of resignation to President Hartzler. The letter articulated feelingly and perceptively the philosophical difficulties and personal dilemma he shared with any number of Goshen people of the era:

Since our conference on the dress question, day before yesterday, I have repeated to myself what seems to me to be an ultimatum, 'Conform or get out,' dozens of times. To me it is a serious dilemma. 'To get out' is a dismal prospect. I love the church. Why shall I separate myself from the institution that I love as I love life itself. . . . On the other hand there rings in my ears the other ultimatum, 'conform.'

Whitmer went on to explain his view that dress restrictions were ultimately damaging to the work of the church, views that had been reinforced for him by conversations with Mennonite mission workers from home and abroad. "I cannot 'conform' to the extent that will satisfy the recorded opinion of our conference," Whitmer concluded, "without doing violence to my best light and doing real, not imaginary injury to the cause of Christ."⁷²

One result of the church's promotion of nonconformity in dress, then, was the frequent discovery, often on the part of academics, of a cleavage between community expectation and individual conscience (though not all such private discoveries led to a sacrifice on the order of Whitmer's). Also at play among those college people leery of prescribed dress was an impatient assessment of priorities that put pragmatic deeds—the "active work" so vaunted at the height of the arc of late-nineteenth-century Mennonite institution-building—above legalities of appearance or other traditional forms. New exposure to immense human need outside the Mennonite community, whether in Chicago's slums, India's villages, or, later, in war-ravaged Vienna or the Meuse, had sensitized a generation to the imperatives of service, an ethic reinforced, in its academic dimension, at Goshen College. The debate over conference dress codes could appear a trivial fixation indeed if out in the field one's immediate mandate might be to supply shivering refugees with any sort of clothing at all.

The point was expressed in 1919 in the inimitable idiom of J.C. Meyer. Meyer was then engaged, with other Mennonite young men, in reconstruction work in France under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. Apparently a photograph showing some of the "boys in France" wearing exotic work clothing had made its way to Iowa, and was found objectionable by the annual meeting of the Mennonite Relief Commission for War Sufferers held June 3, 1919, near Kalona. "You notice the Kalona Conference legislated 'puttees and caps off,'" Meyer wrote to Harold Bender.

I never wore leather puttees and if I had some other cap I suppose I would never have worn that officer's cap, "so called" by a mistaken notion, I suppose. This however I will say. If those brethren had come with some of us and worked in the rain for three weeks every day. . . without rain proof coats, and with but one work suit, with little or no fire at night, in a room where glass

windows were unknown and with food one would not eat in the U.S.A. they would have forgotten that some fellows have a pair of leather puttees and a cap and would have been thankful for a dry coat and shirt when morning came. . . . You see it gets on some fellows' nerves when you are soaked and chilly and the guy who has all the comforts one could wish for, tries to assist you by pouring cold water on your cranium or by talking about your socks or headgear, both of which need a good wringing out before the discussion would proceed at great length. . . . There are a few things more important, about relief work, than socks, leather puttees and caps and we hope the brethren may some day find time to 'resolve' on the important matters too.⁷³

Taking a cue from Meyer's statements, one might propose the idea that progressive-minded academics after the war were prepared to defend the same principles the church fathers were: humility, nonconformity, Christian witness, and so on. It was just that, in the minds of the college crowd, relief work embodied the Mennonite ethic in visible productive form, while regulation garb tended to make of the ethic a static museum display of Mennonite culture. Indeed, one could theorize that in the period before Goshen's closing, the greatest threat to the doctrine-centered Mennonite Church was not, as widely believed, the college's much-feared indulgence of culture. In Meyer's restless voice, for example, one hears an impatience to move beyond a paralyzing obeisance to forms, whether the forms be ecclesiastical or academic, in order to address the existential realities of service in a needy world.

In March 1923, the period of high anxiety for all concerned with Goshen College, Samuel Burkhard of the Class of 1911 wrote of student days in an open letter to Goshen alumni, "We who know the school from the inside know full well that we were never forced to swallow any system of thought but we were introduced to an attitude toward life which showed us that a man was larger than the Sabbath."⁷⁴ The heavy emphasis placed by the church on visible guarantees of orthodoxy, on "the Sabbath," in Burkhard's term—regulation apparel, signed agreements, public confessions, and, for that matter, a complete, verbally-inspired, inerrant Bible—was intended to serve denominational purity and uniformity. But even apart from this denominational level, the emphasis on orthodoxy and conformity had the best intentions for an individual's faith and salvation. As Elizabeth Bender observed of Daniel Kauffman, who did much to set the tone for the era's discipline, he "wasn't all thou-shalt-nots. He also knew something of the power of right living."⁷⁵

Finally, the emphasis on doctrinal correctness could easily sow distrust. Despite the ecclesiastics' good intentions, reliance on external appearances to indicate spiritual health only introduced, rather than eliminated, a gen-

eral climate of uneasiness in the church about apparent and actual faith. A mutual readiness to spot hypocrisy contributed to the bad feeling abroad in the early 1920s.⁷⁶ But one cannot help asking whether, in fact, both sides suffered from the extreme inverse of hypocrisy, an all-but-absolute loyalty to fixed ideas that obscured whatever precious opportunities for compromise and mutual forgiveness did occur.

While many board members of the 1920s and, indeed, Goshen President Daniel Kauffman, were actually moderates within the range of Mennonite conservatism, the absolutism of some Goshen critics, and the barrage of advice from that quarter, forced the issue of orthodoxy for moderates and progressives alike. The ecclesiastics who went to the greatest rhetorical extremes seem to have made the slogan of George R. Brunk I, "No Compromise," a point of faith. Some conservative leaders may have recognized an attack like John H. Mosemann, Sr.'s cartoon of "The Goshen College Tree and Its Fruits" as inaccurate and unfair: Hesston President D.H. Bender, in fact, called the cartoon "rank stuff."⁷⁷ But its effect, like that of J.B. Smith's nineteen-point summaries of fundamentalist and liberal beliefs, was to deliver an ultimatum to Mennonite ecclesiastics. Failure to address the complaints could open the way to one's own classification as liberal or, at best, "laxitarian."⁷⁸

One letter received by S.C. Yoder in the summer of 1921 concluded, "Such men as Detweiler and Gerich [sic] must go—Will Weaver is another disloyalist. Faithfully, Geo. R. Brunk. P.S. I have no spite or ill will against any. . . . I would oppose my own son on any other ground."⁷⁹ To apply that kind of exacting disciplinary rigor to one's own family challenged the board to do nothing less in the matter of the recalcitrant prodigal residing in Goshen's Parkside.

The academic group, subject as it was to the authority of the board, had relatively little room in which to challenge effectively board policy or to test its independence, especially after its reputation for liberalism led to closer scrutiny of its campus activities. I.R. Detweiler in 1916 had succinctly summarized the faculty's options as "conform or get out." With textbook bans and library purges part of the board-recommended approach to curricular design, there is no question that academic freedoms, even the simple liberty to plan lessons and teach them, were eroded. And there was the personal cost to the faculty of unrelenting criticism. One faculty child of the time recalled that campus morale in 1923 was affected by what had become a perpetual cycle: attempts by the college to please the bishops, followed by new accusations of modernism against faculty members, followed by yet more faculty attempts. Finally "[the faculty] were hurt,"⁸⁰ and not a little disgruntled.

Yet even allowing for the constraints and disadvantages imposed upon them throughout the controversy, one recognizes that the academics also

contributed to the problems. If the ecclesiastics failed to recognize that their differences with Goshen really centered on education rather than on theology, the faculty probably underestimated the other group's astuteness in pressing difficult questions about the compatibility of faith and learning. There was also the somewhat self-righteous tendency of some Goshen supporters to project their own era's Mennonite travails back in time onto an Anabaptist screen. Their ready reference to Anabaptism allowed academics, quite rightly, to remind those elevated in the church hierarchy of the strong lay tradition in Mennonitism. But it also led to some claims for individualism, democracy, and noninterference in others' affairs (the twist given nonresistance in one alumni broadside) as original Anabaptist hallmarks, when these modified Anabaptist principles had actually been tailored to the American 1920s.⁸¹

There was also the question of what attitude the faculty and alumni held toward the academically uninitiated. A combination of obtuseness, stubborn logic, and impatience—the spirit discernible among faculty attending that 1920 session with the Indiana-Michigan Conference, for example—could overshadow for constituents other more winning traits and talents, especially for those constituents interested in certifying the level of faculty submissiveness. Had some consummate mediator appeared from the clouds to remedy the stand-off in 1923, he might well have chosen to apply his craft first to faculty and alumni attitudes. One such visionary leader regrettably absent in 1923 was Menno S. Steiner, that energetic promotor of Mennonite mission at the turn of the century. Steiner would have brought to the scene the progressive outlook of an Oberlin College alumnus and early Mennonite institution builder, tempered by a growing suspicion that perhaps the tail of Mennonite works had begun to wag the dog of faithfulness.⁸² In a letter written to President Byers in 1909, Steiner had probed the deficiencies of the academic attitude. With thoughtful clarity, Steiner stressed the old theme of humility:

Is it that [the faculty] wish to work for the Church, or was the Church to be worked by them—that is to say, Are all as willing to learn from the Church, as they are to teach. . . . The heart of some of the faculty was more in association with 'men of learning' than with men of standing in the Church. Maybe it was because they are school boys, but that does not change the case. . . . When out among the churches there was not that open, free, and frank association—that should exist between brethren. The impression has gone out, whether just or unjust, that the professors are too independent and exclusive. . . . Of course a 'plain coat' and such like may satisfy some that you are not so independent, but I think a spirit of brotherly respect, would do much good also.⁸³

But this prophetic voice was lost to the church with Steiner's early death

in 1911. By 1923, most participants in the discussion seemed at a general loss for wisdom.⁸⁴ "Surely these are times when one needs the guidance and wisdom from the courts of heaven to venture to say anything especially in the way of advice," wrote D.J. Johns, ordinarily not a person hesitant to offer opinion and advice.⁸⁵ Yet even as student rebellion on campus appeared headed in an intolerable direction, a few mediating voices sounded a note for tolerance. From Sterling, Illinois, came a plea from board member S.R. Good that the board not ignore the students. "Young people must feel that they have a part in a movement if we want them to become interested. . . . Perhaps we are at the place the Apostles were when they found that they had more than they could do, and began to distribute Responsibility." ⁸⁶ Recently appointed member Orie O. Miller acknowledged diplomatically that the students' requests were indeed problematic. Yet the "feelings and wishes of the student body should receive consideration. The Mennonite part of the student body is also part of the church." Students should be made to feel that, if they approach the board in the proper way, "they will receive at least a hearing. . . . Having been a student not so very long ago myself, I know something about the way they feel. They do feel that they know some things about the situation that the Board does not know." ⁸⁷

But despite evidence that some cautiously progressive representatives of a new generation, figures such as Orie O. Miller and a keenly intelligent Hesston College Bible professor, Noah Oyer, were coming into positions of respect and influence in the church, their ascendancy was occurring too late to affect the particular moment of crisis at Goshen. The central issue faced by the board, as confrontations on campus over specific policies intensified, was the pervasive feeling throughout the church that the Goshen College controversy had itself become such a divisive menace, that to continue to discuss operating policy was, well, academic. The controversy had to be quelled, and, by then, the school had become the controversy. As in the Old Testament story, in which the quarrel between two mothers over possession of an infant brings them close to destroying the child, Goshen's disputing parties threatened to trample the institution they struggled to claim.

No Solomon neatly adjudicated the Goshen College quarrel or prevented the school from closing. In many of its facets, the closing was a "stark tragedy," as John Umble wrote, in part because its ripples were felt beyond the immediate campus population and beyond a single generation. Faculty families had observed and discussed the situation in their homes up and down Eighth Street. When the Old Goshen closed, an integrated social milieu that encompassed church, profession, and family life also changed abruptly for those whose jobs and education hung in the balance. It could be painful, following the coming of the Kauffman presidency in 1922, for

long-standing faculty families to observe the new dispensation establish itself.

An entire way of life closed with the college, for some people more finally than for others. Distinguished faculty member Ephraim J. Zook, librarian and professor of Latin, Greek, and French since 1903, after briefly pursuing college teaching elsewhere, and failing in 1924 to satisfy an Indiana-Michigan conference interviewing committee on doctrinal points, found himself carrying his volumes of Homer and Virgil to a night watchman's job in a Goshen factory.⁸⁸ Parallel divisions and an ensuing diaspora in the College Church congregation further fostered the notion of two existences: Before-Closing and After-Closing. "Lives changed," Agnes Weaver Eigsti said of 1923-1924, the year her alumni father and mother were disfellowshipped from the College congregation. "The floor was . . . taken out from under you."⁸⁹ The (Old) Mennonite Church was depleted of substantial numbers, many of whom in turn enriched the General Conference Mennonite, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other communions.

Sorrow over the closing was long-lasting. Students attending Goshen after it reopened might find themselves enduring the disparaging remarks of disenchanted relatives who had left the College congregation but remained in Goshen and made a new church home at Eighth Street Mennonite Church of the Central Conference branch (later absorbed into the General Conference Mennonite Church), a congregation established in Goshen in 1913 and housed since 1920 at its Eighth Street location. Those who directly experienced the closing and its surrounding discord continued to feel and convey its emotional power as long as seventy years later. Some avoided speaking of those painful times in the ensuing decades. Calvin Redekop wrote dramatically that "The closing of Goshen College in 1923-1924 left such bitterness in its wake that the controversy dissipated only as the principals slowly went to their graves."⁹⁰

But from another perspective, Redekop's statement seems too sweeping. Bitterness was not the closing's final testimony. Time had a curious way, in the wake of the 1923 difficulties, of stirring in the hearts of even the banished or self-exiled a charitable loyalty that saw Goshen College, old or new, as *alma mater*. For example, Samuel Burkhard had in early spring 1923 taken up Goshen's cause among alumni by circulating an angry article called "The Case of Goshen College." But one month later, just after the announcement of the decision to close the school, a new Burkhard letter to alumni contained the words,

Shame on us if in the face of the idealism to which we profess to hold we shall divide ourselves into camps of intolerance (whether on one side or the other) and then see who can hold out the longest. . . . The new day will not consist in a triumph of liberalism

over conservatism, but will consist in the triumph of the religion of Jesus over both of these.⁹¹

Many veterans of the pre-closing years, disaffected though they were in 1924, later sent their children to Goshen College. It is noteworthy that former president J.E. Hartzler made a substantial financial contribution toward the Goshen Biblical Seminary library. Hartzler's will, furthermore, provided for a memorable November 1963 dinner at Miller's Country Restaurant north of Goshen, given to the college faculty and special guests in honor of Noah Byers and other Old Goshen faculty. That meal, with its toasts reminiscent of Old Goshen proprieties, its speeches, its recollections by that period's survivors, and its hospitality to the current faculty body, symbolically reunited formerly estranged parties around the banquet table (*Record*, December 6, 1963). Before his death in 1948, C. Henry Smith established a trust to allow his nieces, nephews, and their descendants to attend a Mennonite college—and Smith stipulated that they might choose between Bluffton and Goshen.⁹² Harold and Wilma Smucker Good's bounteous contributions to the college offered additional examples of a reconciling continuity at work in the college history.

Tragedy and bitterness, while part of the story, have not been the final legacy of Goshen's closing. For one thing, despite opinion or appearances to the contrary, the emergence of a new Goshen was evidence that the former Goshen had never completely been extinguished. If temporarily closing the college was an imperfect solution, at least a leader like S.C. Yoder had the fortuitous wisdom to prevent academics and ecclesiastics from tearing the prodigal limb from limb. And the new Goshen in its formative stages enjoyed the continuity brought by Old Goshen graduates—Silas Hertzler, S.W. Witmer, and Harold and Elizabeth Bender among them. For that matter, many tensions thought to be peculiar to Old Goshen surfaced faithfully in the reincarnated college—which points back to the teasing paradox of the Mennonite liberal arts.

If viewed in light of the larger church's disputes over patterns of authority, the official decision to close Goshen College clearly did not spring full-grown from the pressures of a few meetings—intense and extraordinary as those April and June 1923 sessions were. While full of portent, the final June announcement signaled neither an unprecedented strain, nor total break, in church and school ties. But neither did it provide a final resolution of the tensions inherent in those relations. Perhaps it is best described as having been simply the most dramatic declaration to date in the historic, unfolding family conversation implicit in the college's origins.

The many exchanges of ideas on the state of Goshen College among college directors, educators, patrons, and the Mennonite Church at large, continued that broader, ongoing dialogue concerning the nature of Mennonite faith and learning that John S. Coffman had initiated in 1896. The

decision to close the school was a culmination of currents and events related to that dialogue, some of them as much rooted in the college's opening as in the final, difficult term of 1923.

Furthermore, though they took as their pertinent reference point a small campus in northern Indiana, the issues being discussed transcended one school's problems. Their educational preoccupations figured in a larger constellation of questions relevant to an entire, traditional church family that was attempting to come to terms with tides of change. The Goshen College conversation ultimately took in the quest, by parents and progeny alike, to define what it meant to be an American Mennonite in the twentieth century. The summons to that perilous journey is one echo of 1923 that has not faded with time.



John S. Coffman, who delivered
"The Spirit of Progress" at the
Elkhart Institute in 1896. (AMC)



Elkhart Institute friends
known as the "Busy Five" in
1900. Back row: Lizzie
Richert (Johns) and Hettie
Kulp (Mininger). Front row:
Marietta Metzler (Lehman);
Katie Leighton (Ruch) and
Olivia Good (Hondrich).
Hettie Kulp Mininger was
the mother of Paul Mininger,
president of Goshen College
from 1954 to 1970. (AMC)



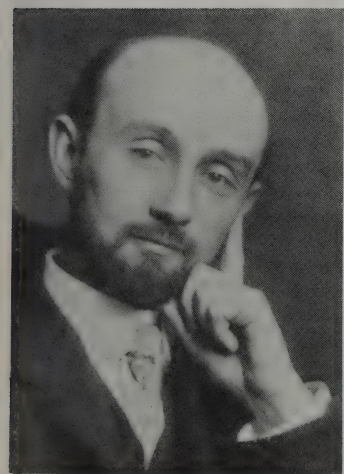
Institute boys: Participants in the "physical culture" gymnasium class of instructor Joseph W. Yoder (center), ca. 1898. Left to right: M.C. Lehman, Guy Root, C.E. Bender, Yöder, R.R. Ebersole, J.E. Hartzler, H. Frank Reist—the latter two athletes future Goshen College presidents. (AMC)



Debonair roommates Isaiah W. Royer and Alvin C. Ramseyer of Smithville's Oak Grove congregation, 1899. (Oak Grove was a strong supporter of the new Elkhart Institute.) (Margaret Musser Baker—personal collection)



Elkhart Institute and Goshen College supplied many of the earliest (Old) Mennonite missionaries to India. Front row: I.R. Detweiler, Bertha Detweiler, Jacob Burkhard. Middle row: Lina Ressler, J.A. Ressler, Esther Burkhard, Mary Burkhard. Back row: M.C. Lapp and Sarah Lapp. I.R. Detweiler served as acting president of Goshen College 1920-1922. (AMC)



Noah E. Byers, Elkhart Institute principal 1898-1903, Goshen College president 1903-1913. (Reflector, 1907)



The Parkside viewed in 1909 from the Goshen College Administration Building. (Mabel V. Brunk—personal collection)



Goshen College faculty, ca. 1909. Back row: Solomon F. Gingrich, Dean C. Henry Smith, Boyd Smucker, J.M. Kurtz. Middle row: E.J. Zook, Paul E. Whitmer, D.S. Gerig, D.A. Lehman. Front row: President N.E. Byers, I.R. Detweiler, Nancy B. Kulp (Gillion), Anna H. Kauffman (Hess), Frank S. Ebersole. (Mabel V. Brunk—personal collection)



Evergreen School, Kalona, Iowa, spring 1913. Early Goshen College students often supported their own education by teaching for a season. Lita Miller (Lehman) of Indiana (rear) with her pupils, some of whom later attended Goshen College. (Clifford Fisher—personal collection)



Adelphian Fountain party, ca. 1913. (John and Pauline Fisher—personal collection)



John Ellsworth Hartzler, Goshen College president 1913-1918. (Maple Leaf 1916)



Students Elizabeth Horsch and Harold S. Bender in "the dear and glorious Parkside" near Goshen College, 1918. (John and Pauline Fisher—personal collection)



The Aurora Literary Society portrays an American schoolroom, ca. 1916. Future college president Ernest E. Miller, in flowing tie, appears with his foot on the stage railing (second from left). The well-loved college custodian "Uncle Sam" Plank also appears on the platform (second from right), possibly cast in the role of schoolmaster to the unruly Auroras. (MHL)



Chapter Five

NEW EQUILIBRIUM

TRADITION, COURAGE, CHANGE 1924-1940

*Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;
And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.*
— Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II, i

When Goshen College opened its doors in September 1924 after a year's closure, an observer of the scene might have noted paradoxically that nothing had changed, and everything had changed.

To certain alumni and faculty members of the original institution, the closing of the college symbolized an ultimate rift barring progress-minded academics from a church structure controlled by conservative ecclesiastics. To the new Goshen students, arriving for academy or college classes, no disturbances of the recent past mattered so much as their present and future surroundings and activities, all of which had their origin in the Goshen College of 1923 and before. To the men chosen to lead Goshen College through its reopening and beyond, particularly President Sanford C. Yoder and Dean Noah Oyer, fell the daunting task of perpetuating a school's best traditions of thirty years even while creating a brand new institution.

Failure to convince key constituents and the Mennonite Church at large of a fresh start and clean break from the controversy of past years would certainly mean the college's permanent closure; failure to restore the college's former self to some kind of life would likewise doom the school

by denying its foundations. For the institution to survive, bridges linking the old and new Goshen would be necessary; but by the same token, no ritual, textbook, or dogma could traverse those bridges without examination and, as necessary, reinterpretation, by the new guard.

The new guard had at its center Sanford Yoder, president of the Board of Education at the time of Goshen's closing in June 1923, and elected in August 1923 to the college presidency. In his relationship to old and new, Yoder, like the dormant college he was charged with reanimating, presented something of a paradox. As a former far-West frontiersman and current Iowa farmer-bishop, Yoder had worked largely outside the conflicts over mores, education, and doctrine that were all but unavoidable for Mennonite leaders in the East and Midwest. In Robert S. Kreider's irresistible image, "It was as though he and [Dean Noah Oyer of Hesston College, Kansas] came riding out of the West, clean and credible, to rescue the maiden of higher education in distress."¹ Yoder's election to Goshen's presidency conveyed no politically-charged signal, as had Daniel Kauffman's in 1922, but rather the reassuringly noncontroversial hallmarks of dependability and moderation. Even his lack in 1923 (as yet) of a college degree must in some quarters have been seen to have been to his advantage.

At the same time, Yoder's position on the Board of Education since 1916, his appointment as secretary of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities in 1921, and his service as moderator of the Mennonite General Conference between 1919 and 1921 meant he was anything but a stranger to the church's internal strife and, particularly, Goshen College's part in it. One might best sum up the mixture of detachment and involvement Yoder brought to the problems of Goshen College in the phrase "initiated outsider." As president of the Board of Education in 1923, he had been intimately involved in the march of events leading to Goshen's temporary closing; as president of the college, he was selected as the single leader most likely to steer it beyond the wreckage along that path. As an initiated outsider, Yoder had the advantage of appearing to all sides to be aware of and involved in Goshen's difficulties without having played a direct role in creating them.

The path of Yoder's presidency led the college through sixteen crucial years, from the tenuous beginning days of 1924 to the accumulated accomplishments of 1940, a year which found the college prepared to apply for accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Yoder's native dignity and serene comportment did much through those years to reassure others of the college's stability, and of their president's own confidence and peace of mind. Yet, due in part to those very characteristics, Yoder had in fact been called to perform a colossal labor whose heroic demands, personal sacrifice, and private pain were never completely fathomed at the time of Yoder's service.

The fortitude exacted of Yoder to “stand in the breach” between college and church, as Guy Hersberger later described the job,² can be glimpsed in the letter of resignation supplied to the Board of Education in February 1940. “The years during which I have served you as President of one of the colleges under your control have not been without their problems and disappointments,” Yoder made a point of saying, but added, “they are also filled with pleasant memories of a fellowship with the Board and its committees that I shall always cherish.”³ In later years, Yoder revealed more fully to confidants the extent of the difficulty he faced holding things together “in the breach” at the reconstituted Goshen College. “I’ll tell *you* I went through the fire here,” Yoder in advanced age told his Goshen College officemate Stanley Shenk.⁴

In a way, S.C. Yoder had been attempting to hold the college together even before it closed. Attempts to reorganize the college from without, always with the specter of closing the institution hovering in the background, had been going on at least since the summer of 1921, when the board first identified their president, Yoder, as their choice for a permanent replacement to Acting President Irvin R. Detweiler. Yoder’s decision to decline the presidency at that time nonetheless seems to have heightened for him the likelihood that he would one day fill the post.

In the succeeding two years prior to Goshen’s closing, Board of Education President Yoder cultivated from behind the scenes ideas and counsel from individuals across the spectrum of opinion on Goshen College’s future. That correspondence reveals that Yoder, at low moments, had viewed the school’s prospects with something like despair. He had also struggled personally with the ethics of foisting on any of the gifted young Mennonite candidates appropriate for the job what would surely be a thankless, nearly impossible, and potentially debilitating assignment. Yoder’s ultimate approach to the quandary of determining the college’s future, though, seems to have been to shun despair.

With the board in July 1921 Yoder temporized, declining at that tense juncture to dismiss the faculty or their president, but presiding over the imposition of stricter regulations on college activities. And he apparently began to gird himself, at least subconsciously, eventually to take on the hazards of the presidency himself. Whether he counted on a full cessation of college operations to effect it or not, he envisioned a future faculty winnowed of the active players in the church-school controversy, and of those who seemed given to inflammatory rhetoric, an uncooperative spirit, or ambiguous doctrinal commitments. Privately, Yoder advised promising young potential faculty members whose advanced study lay before them, such as Iowa boys Guy Hersberger and Glen Miller, to skirt the demoralizing conflicts and uncertainties of northern Indiana for the safer confines of Hesston College, with a view to their later hiring at a changed Goshen

College.⁵ By resolutely remaining in 1921 by his congregational duties in Kalona, Iowa, rather than accepting the presidency then, Yoder too was circumspectly anticipating the time when his service to the college might make a difference.

In some ways, the year the college lay quiet must have been more difficult than any in Yoder's presidency. For one thing, Yoder had enrolled in course work toward his B.A. degree at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City. Thus his own academic program demanded attention, even while he attempted to reinvigorate Goshen's. The university work in Iowa also kept him at an inconvenient remove from the spot in northern Indiana he now administered. No matter how advantageous keeping his geographical distance from the troubled waters and shores of the Indiana-Michigan Conference had been in the past, that distance was surely now a liability for one attempting to pin down the operational details of an institution whose momentum had been suspended. "I am wondering how soon after school is out that you will be able to move to Goshen?" Yoder queried Hesston's Noah Oyer. ". . . I think it would be well if you could get on the ground as soon as possible after the close of the year at Hesston." The incoming president, for his part, would be detained in Iowa until late August.⁶

In this year, too, Yoder faced the loneliness of forming a college faculty from a pool that in the fall of 1923 contained only one definite member: Yoder himself. Yoder wrote to former faculty members concerning the possibility of their return to serve at the new Goshen. The letters included a newly-prepared questionnaire from the Board of Education designed to elicit prospective faculty members' views on a range of doctrinal points, such as the theory of evolution, the devotional covering, and life insurance. The most crucial points for determining acceptable faculty were undoubtedly Question 8, having to do the candidate's views on "church government," and Question 10, "Would you be willing to conform to the teachings and the practices of the Church in the matters of plainness of attire and general separation from the world?"⁷ At least three former faculty members, Silas Hertzler (now at Hesston College), Samuel W. Witmer, and the faculty's eldest member, Daniel A. Lehman (both at Bluffton Colleges), answered the questions to the board's satisfaction and in the course of the closing year signed on for renewed employment at Goshen.

Most of the contacts with the rest of the former Goshen faculty, however, were problematic, one way or another. For one thing, the diaspora occasioned by Goshen's closing was not easily undone. Faculty had by necessity scrambled to obtain alternative employment, and for various reasons were not at liberty to relinquish it. At least two members, D.S. Gerig and J.M. Kurtz, found positions in high schools, Gerig in Goshen and Kurtz at a Chicago school. E.J. Zook spent the year of the closing teaching at the Dutch Reformed Hope College in Michigan. John J. Fisher Sr. and Alma Warye

Fisher spent the year of the closing pursuing further graduate study at Columbia, and in the fall of 1924 he accepted a professorship at Bloomsburg State Normal School in Pennsylvania. Not the least of the dynamics at work among former Goshen professors was the fact that almost any teaching post outside the Mennonite circuit, whether elementary, secondary, or university level, could offer a higher income—sometimes dramatically higher—than could employment at Goshen. The Goshen faculty now scattered by the closing had served the institution loyally and sacrificially despite very low salaries. Most by now had growing families, or aging parents, and thus growing financial responsibilities. From the vantage point of 1924, there were very few guarantees that a reopened Goshen would survive more than a contentious trial period. After an enforced year away, the Goshen faculty naturally would have applied critical scrutiny to what fiscal wisdom there might be in gambling on Goshen's future.

Probably of even greater importance to Sanford Yoder and the former faculty were questions about what role this recently controversial group of academics could really play in a school their opponents now sought to rehabilitate. Here again, the perplexing mandate to create something new out of the discarded materials of the old impressed itself on all parties concerned. Obviously, the invitation to return to Goshen had struck a harmonious chord with Professors Hertzler and Witmer. To others, the invitation—accompanied as it was by the doctrinal questionnaire—served essentially as a dismissal notice. Writing in May 1924, the Old Goshen partisan Rudy Senger declared that the form sent to professors featured a “trick” question (presumably the question about conforming to church regulations in matters of attire) designed to eliminate the bulk of those teachers from the new faculty lineup.⁸

At least two former faculty members who S.C. Yoder hoped would accept his invitation to return, former dean John J. Fisher Sr. and former business manager and Bible department head Amos E. Kreider, reportedly opposed in principle any attempt to restore the old faculty.⁹ Their argument reasoned that the board, by closing the college, had formally rejected the old faculty as unsuitable. Now for the sake of consistency and integrity it must seek an entirely new staff for the renovated institution. This line of thought surely had its logical and moral appeal to Yoder: after all, who among the powers presiding over Goshen's closure would not have argued that the faculty had been a large part of the problem? Yet Mennonite educational history repeated itself, as Yoder contemplated the depleted academic talent available in the Mennonite Church if as a block the former Goshen faculty indeed refused to come back. Given his need to assemble a teaching faculty for duty within the year, the problematic former faculty might of necessity also supply the college's solution. The challenge of hiring judiciously was further intensified, not surprisingly, by the unambiguous

urgings from other quarters that Yoder now seize the opportunity to reseed Goshen College, former bearer of "bad fruits," with sound teachers not rooted in modernism.

J.B. Smith, late of Eastern Mennonite School, was again an urgently recommended candidate. But as he had done in 1922, S.C. Yoder resisted pressure to add J.B. Smith to the faculty at Goshen College. Yoder concluded that while his administration would need to deal with Smith, they did not need to hire him. "I . . . received a letter from J.B. Smith today, which of course, is characteristic of the man," Yoder wrote Oyer April 22, 1924. "I notice that he is on the warpath and after our scalp. . . . I think we might as well make up our mind now as later that we will have to have this man to handle. . . ." Though Yoder had assured Smith of his plan to take a conservative approach at the new Goshen College, Smith continued to contact Yoder for assurances that the Iowa bishop was "still sound." "If, during my stay at Goshen," Yoder reflected to Oyer with bemused exasperation,

I must every week or two write him a letter and assure him of the fact that I have not yet changed my mind and that I am still standing with the Church, it will mean that I will perhaps have to employ some more help in my work. This will especially be true if all men who are loyal and faithful in the Church, will make the same demands upon me that J.B. Smith is doing.¹⁰

Large amounts of President Yoder's energy and concern during 1923-1924 went into the basic question of who would be standing behind the lecterns when the college doors were opened in September. That he carried off this assignment is in itself a marvel of dogged perseverance. An even greater contribution made by Yoder at this juncture was his faith that the college would indeed survive the first year, his determination to look beyond the immediate demands of getting the school back into operation to envision a college ten or twenty years in the future. In this area he was continuing his quiet cultivation of young people, largely Amish Mennonite Iowans with a Hesston College connection, whom he believed in, such as Pearl Klopfenstein, Glen Miller, Guy and Clara Hershberger, Chris and Mina Graber, Edward and Estie Yoder.¹¹

Yoder also had his eye on two shining light alumni of the Old Goshen currently living in Germany, Harold Bender and Elizabeth Horsch Bender.¹² Harold had earlier taught at Hesston, Elizabeth at Eastern Mennonite School. Their exact loyalties and predilections regarding the established Mennonite Church and their *alma mater's* role therein were not immediately known. There were Harold's obviously favorable familial connections to his father, the late George L. Bender of Elkhart who had served as treasurer of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities until his death in 1921, and his uncle D.H. Bender, the president of Hesston College.

On the other hand, Harold Bender had attended Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, before moving on to a program at Princeton Theological Seminary. He had only recently served as chairman of the executive committee of the Young People's Movement, an unofficial Mennonite organization carrying the Old Goshen cachet that took as its point of origin the 1919 conference in Clermont, France. By 1924, Bender had also begun to write for a new journal, *The Christian Exponent*, a new bi-monthly journal distrusted by the Mennonite establishment. Elizabeth Bender was the daughter of anti-modernist writer John Horsch of Scottdale. Yet during her senior year at Goshen, Elizabeth had attracted the disapproval of Virginian churchmen when the *Record* published her essay, "Ignorance versus Error." In that essay, Elizabeth Horsch briefly traced man's intellectual development, from primitivism to his "present state of reason and intellectual supremacy." Horsch concluded: "Whether the idea was truth or error matters little; it is the fact that it made for action, for progress, that concerns us. The fact that it took hold on society was in itself a good thing, for it made society think. . . . It is ideas that rule the world" (*Record*, January 1918). Both J.B. Smith and John L. Stauffer had singled out Horsch's essay for criticism in 1918 letters to the Board of Education, Stauffer citing its teaching of "evolutionary theory."¹³

In his search for faculty, Yoder pursued no candidate so assiduously as he did a quietly impressive Bible professor, Noah Oyer, a native of Metamora, Illinois, whom Yoder had identified as his choice for academic dean.¹⁴ In 1922, in response to then-Board of Education President Yoder's solicitation of advice, Oyer had written a most astute, clearheaded letter appraising the Goshen situation.¹⁵ Now Yoder's appeal was complicated by the fact that in the fall of 1923, the Princeton seminarian Oyer had just begun to serve as dean of his own *alma mater*, Hesston College.

Thus Yoder not only needed to persuade Oyer to come to Goshen; he had to secure from his Kansas counterpart, President D.H. Bender, Oyer's release from Hesston. This process was complicated over the course of the year, in turn, by the fact that Hesston stood to lose not a few of its faculty and students to the resurgent Goshen. And these issues germane to the small world of Mennonite academics naturally entailed consultation with the Board of Education, the body governing the fates of both institutions.¹⁶ Though Yoder and Oyer were in communication as early as September concerning Oyer's candidacy and all manner of faculty and curricular plans, Yoder had no final word that Oyer would join him at Goshen as dean until mid-February 1924. It is intriguing to try to imagine the course of Goshen College history had Oyer said no, in light of the plain-spoken assertion President Yoder had written to Oyer from Iowa in the final days of their negotiations: "Unless you come to Goshen next year as far as my plans are concerned I expect to remain just where I am."¹⁷

Meanwhile, beyond the Iowa-Kansas circuit of correspondence, the disagreement and misunderstanding that had so disturbed the peace among Mennonite academics and ecclesiastics did not conveniently fade away with the echoes of Goshen's final commencement speech. In some ways, the clashes associated with the immediate post-closing period were more intense in the absence of an operational Goshen, whose scrutinized daily business had at least grounded the debate in some kind of tangible reality.

One new locus of conflict after January 1924 was *The Christian Exponent*, the unofficial Mennonite journal edited at Wooster, Ohio, by Vernon Smucker, one of Sanford Yoder's valued young counselors in the gloomy period of 1921-1923. The *Exponent* was intended to be an outlet for progressive Mennonite thinking and dialogue, and, as the editors proved in providing their novel feature "Open Forum," an opportunity for dialogue from all points of view in the church. Some perturbed readers saw the *Exponent's* bylines, which read like a homecoming program for pre-1923 Goshen College, and concluded that its purpose was impudent nose-thumb-ing at the official Mennonite press. Read with a later day's more neutral eyes, the *Exponent's* sermons, devotional material, thoughtful essays, mission reports, and inter-Mennonite church news reveal a great deal of the devout biblical commitment and prized denominational emphases generally held in the church at the time. In its particular historical moment, however, the magazine's very existence, as an obvious alternative to the officially-sanctioned *Gospel Herald*, provoked censure. On some occasions, furthermore, its writers permitted themselves to comment on the emerging post-closing policy for Goshen College; see, for example, in a balanced editorial overall, the comment that "There is no question but that we have the men who are qualified to teach if they are given an opportunity. . . . If, however, those who are experienced are to be turned away, and if we must depend upon those to furnish the finances who have been the critics of the institution in the past, then frankly, we see but little hope."¹⁸ Soon an agreement to desist publishing in *The Christian Exponent* became one condition of employment in Yoder's lineup of faculty for the new Goshen College.¹⁹ As with the board's seemingly binding doctrinal questionnaire, the administration's attempt to restrict its faculty's freedom to publish in *The Christian Exponent* raised a cautionary flag for a number of such writers and sympathizers among the former faculty.

Another site of ongoing trouble was the Goshen College congregation. It had been difficult at times to disentangle this institution's problems from those of the college itself, given the congregation's roots in Goshen's 1903 beginnings, the overlap of church membership and attending participants with the population of the college community, and the recent strained relations of the Indiana-Michigan Conference with both entities. The college's closing naturally made an impact on the church fellowship, both in its sym-

bolic implications and the departure of students and faculty from its midst. The events in the congregation in March 1923, involving Bishop D.D. Miller's insistence on members' pledge of loyalty to conference decisions, had also begun a process of attrition that continued throughout 1923-1924. Yet however diminished the numbers, a meaningful congregational life flourished against the odds in the year of the closing. A.E. Kreider, the levelheaded Goshen Bible professor and gifted preacher, had been invited in 1923 by bishop D.D. Miller and by congregational petition to serve as pastor. From Rudy Senger's admittedly subjective account, one gets the sense of a small circle of members discovering meaning and faith in adversity: "We have been having the best and most spiritual meetings here. . . . We never had better sermons here in the history of our congregation than we have been having this past year, after they [the Indiana-Michigan Conference officials] failed to kill us off."²⁰ But the College congregation, made up of families with ties to the college as far back as 1903, its history of a vital, college-flavored Sunday school program, its individuals known to be less given to scruples on life insurance or the wearing of hats than their conference executives, and its number of disenfranchised faculty, had continued as an antiauthoritarian thorn in the side of an ever more vigilant and restrictive local conference. By 1924, the congregation had essentially been disestablished through the cumulative disfellowshipping of most members and the abrupt removal from pastoral duties in August 1924 of Amos Kreider. The exodus of College Church members to the Eighth Street Church, the Central Conference congregation pastored by I.R. Detweiler whose new meetinghouse lay less than a mile due north of Goshen College, had been all but completed when the college reopened in September 1924.²¹

Given these developments and the general climate of disaffection that year, one is not too surprised to note that Sanford Yoder found his dealings with some former faculty inconclusive, cool, or outright antagonistic. As he confided to Noah Oyer in April, some among the faculty diaspora initially had appeared indifferent to Goshen's future, but by spring, "since it appears that things are going to go at Goshen and they might be left out of the program, they are beginning to whine."²² For all of S.C. Yoder's diplomacy and circumspection in arranging a college staff, he did take a fairly steely pragmatist's view regarding the old guard. When E.J. Zook, Goshen languages professor and librarian of twenty years' tenure, gave the impression, at a crucial screening session with the Indiana-Michigan Conference executive committee, obstinately to withhold assurances of his soundness, Yoder promptly informed Zook there would be no place for him in the new Goshen College.²³ Yoder ended up assigning what would have been Zook's Latin and French professorship to Alta Maud Malloch, an elderly Presbyterian from Iowa sympathetic to the Mennonites but firmly committed to her

own denomination. Observers among the *Christian Exponent* crowd, including former president J.E. Hartzler, pointed out the high proportion of non-Mennonite faculty, lined up in the service of a more soundly Mennonite institution.²⁴

Certainly some former and potential faculty must have turned away from prospects of employment at Goshen out of a weary impatience with the confrontations afflicting the church and college. "I am intensely interested in Goshen," alumnus J.C. Meyer had written from France back in 1919, before beginning his own stint on the faculty, "but when I find out how it is used as a football by all who are anxious to get into the game I get almost tired of keeping my seat in the 'bleachers' row and feel like buying another sack of peanuts to pass the time."²⁵

There was also among some loyalists a pessimistic sense that, through closing and reorganization, the original Goshen's beckoning gleam, a dream of itself as the church's progressive leaven, had been extinguished. In fact, the notion of two distinct colleges, Old Goshen and New, was probably more cherished in 1924 by certain disenchanting alumni on one hand, and zealous reforming ecclesiastics on the other, than it ever was in the mind of S.C. Yoder and others attempting to spark the college back to life.²⁶ A letter sent Yoder by alumnus Frederick A. Conrad, a successful professor of economics at the University of Arizona, illustrates the intensity of proprietary feeling possible among Old Goshen alumni, as well as the depth of suspicion held toward the new guard by some among the old. It also reminds us that the Goshen presidency required Yoder to feel pressure from conservative and progressive agitators alike. Writing just as the college resumed operation, Conrad identified the Old Goshen College as "the one avenue that [had] opened up a larger and richer life" for him. "I am not particularly interested in any institution," Conrad went on,

which aims to propagate sectarian dogmatism. . . .

If Goshen College, under its present administration, aims to provide the young people of the church an opportunity to seek the truth in an open-minded Christian spirit you can count upon my continued interest and support. If, however, Goshen College is to be primarily a dogma-inculcating machine set up by the Church to turn out more dogmatists so that the Church will have an adequate supply of dogmatists to uphold its traditions and dogmas regardless of their truth or value, then I have no further interest in the success of the school.

Closing his letter, Conrad implied somewhat sententiously the existence of an ideological fault line dividing the once and future institution. "Deep and cherished are the memories of Her who gave me my cultural rebirth," he wrote Yoder.

If Goshen College can continue to give expression to the spirit of my *Alma Mater* as I knew it, my love for her will remain though things have changed. If however her spirit is gone from her former self, I will be obliged to hang up in the hall of memory the sign, 'My *Alma Mater*, gone but not forgotten.' ²⁷

Yet reports supplied throughout 1923-1924 by the Board of Education to the *Gospel Herald* steadily indicated that indeed Goshen would resume operations in the fall.

March 1924 found the new college business manager Chris Graber with his wife, Mina Roth Graber, and their baby daughter Areta leaving their home in Wayland, Iowa, for Goshen—a community Graber had never visited, and in which he knew but two people. He was the first member of the new administration to arrive. As it happened, one of the Grabers' two acquaintances there was Mina's erudite, blunt-spoken cousin, D.S. Gerig, in whose Eighth Street home the family landed the first night in town. Over breakfast their host, whose teaching credentials at the Old Goshen went back to the Elkhart Institute, asked the twenty-nine-year-old business manager where he thought he would get the money to operate the college. Graber replied honestly that he did not know. ²⁸

The church's official and unofficial publications during this year kept the far-flung once and future players in the Goshen sweepstakes abreast of emerging trends of thought. With the *Gospel Herald* sympathetically reporting a future at Goshen, another Scottdale-based publication in 1924 raised the specter of its former contested image and made readers wonder how long-lived that future could possibly be. John Horsch's book *The Mennonite Church and Modernism* particularized the warnings of an earlier publication, *Modern Religious Liberalism*, setting about now to expose the dangerous influences which had insinuated themselves into the Mennonite midst by way of a theologically liberal academia. Not surprisingly, Horsch believed the conduit of modernism into the church to be Mennonite colleges and seminaries and their teachers, especially Goshen and Bluffton Colleges and Witmarsum Seminary at Bluffton. Among the most dangerous individuals, Horsch announced, were former Goshen presidents now removed to Bluffton, N.E. Byers and J.E. Hartzler. ²⁹ Both men contested Horsch's claims in the "Open Forum" section of *The Christian Exponent*; their appearance in print there only further lowered traditionalists' view of the paper. ³⁰

Meanwhile, Horsch's son-in-law Harold Bender was supplying official church organs like the *Gospel Herald* and *Christian Monitor* with breathless reports of his discoveries at the University of Tübingen—and, until steered away from that pastime by both Horsch and S.C. Yoder, making the occasional contribution to the *Exponent*. Bender's theme in these European dispatches was the contemporary significance for American Mennonites to

be found in European Mennonite and Anabaptist history. Reading the articles from the vantage point of Columbia University, dean of the disbanded Goshen faculty John J. Fisher Sr. noted the evangelizing enthusiasm of Bender's tone in these articles, commenting tongue-in-cheek to Silas Hertzler that since reading the last one "I have been wondering whether most of the students in Tuebingen are Mennonites and whether they dress plainly."³¹ Another contact made by Harold and Elizabeth Bender in the course of their European year would play an important part in Goshen's reopening: a young German scholar of early Mennonitism named Ernst Correll, who, Bender persuaded S.C. Yoder by correspondence, should be added to the roster of new professors.³²

Against the predictions of some and the worse misgivings of her administrators, Goshen College did reopen come September 1924. "There has been no year like that reopening year," Olive Wyse reminisced of her first year at Goshen over fifty years later.³³ The college's situation balanced the precarious with the providential. Many apparent changes at Goshen College had taken place between June 1923 and this moment. The would-be Class of 1924, made up of thirty-four students during their sophomore year in 1921-1922, had dropped precipitously in the year before the closing. Now the senior class numbered 7, the junior class 8, the sophomores 19, and the freshmen 36. The great bulk of the former faculty had not returned. Bobbed hair and U.S. Navy-inspired "middy" suits, not atypical of the Goshen co-ed of 1923, had given way in the space of a year to modestly pinned tresses, prayer coverings with strings, and sober-toned dresses (interrupted only by the occasional flapper enrolled from outside the Mennonite community). The three chief administrators and a larger percentage (but not all) of faculty men now wore plain coats. Departed Goshen figures, who attached rueful prestige to the brilliance of the former faculty, took note that two-thirds of the new top administrators held no college degree, or that the new president himself had completed the work of a college sophomore. Due to the relatively brief rebuilding period and the problematic relationship of one kind or another to former personnel, S.C. Yoder had hired a variegated faculty, mixing "untainted" Mennonites of varying stripes and experiences with non-Mennonite Christian teachers usually selected out of expediency.

From certain angles, then, the college upon reopening might well have invited characterization as pedagogically diminished and haphazardly organized. The pomp and circumstance traditionally attendant on a new administration were nowhere in evidence that fall.³⁴ Yet, to borrow a phrase typical of students and faculty of the S.C. Yoder era, that would be only a "partial view."

That limited view would exclude the high-spirited joy, good faith, and capacity for cooperation supplied by the small but willing new crop of stu-

dents, all qualities consistent with the best brought by a generation of previous Goshen matriculants. It would overlook the conspiratorial, excited cohesion shared by the student body and faculty that year—a benefit, strangely enough, of the college's hampered circumstances. It would underestimate the immediate impact some among that ragtag initial faculty would make on students and one another. Like those critics outside the college who most strenuously insisted on plain garb, this view would infer too much of absolute significance from a brother or sister's appearance. Finally, such a characterization would fail to account for the strength of Sanford Yoder, quietly but purposefully installed on the first floor of the Ad Building at the heart of the new enterprise.

Indeed, the figure of S.C. Yoder was central to campus stability and cohesion in those days of reorganization. The tall, warmly smiling Yoder could be counted on to extend his large hand and call students by name as they exited chapel. His enthusiasm in teaching Old Testament poetry (he had just spent a year studying the subject at the University of Iowa) and the shadings he gave to reading it aloud made an impression on Minnie Swartzendruber, later Graber, a transfer to Goshen from Hesston College in the fall of 1924. Yoder also carried the prestige of respected church leadership as a bishop in Iowa and as the recently-appointed board secretary for foreign and home mission, still the premier focus of young Mennonites' aspiration and intrigue. Surely the badge of Yoder's experience most coveted among his student constituency must have been the homesteading years spent as a cowboy on the plains of Washington state. The new college president, it was apparent to students, had "a Wild West streak."³⁵

Also conferring continuity, and thus stature, on the fall activities of 1924 was the physical reality of the campus. Surely the Goshen campus and its surrounding Parkside could never have supplied any other group with the received traditions of Adelphian fountain, Aurora arch, Kulp Hall reception room or millrace paths more meaningfully than they did the new Goshen students who clasped these traditions to their hearts as a sacred inheritance. As early as the first year of renewed operations, a page in the *Record* urged students to vouchsafe their memories of "the ivy-covered walls—the beloved fountain—the familiar paths—the guardian arch" by reserving a 1925 *Maple Leaf* (January 1925).

The extension of some traditions over the pause in operations of 1923-1924 depended on consultation with people experienced in the old forms. Initially this meant the alumni or former professors Witmer, Hertzler, D.A. ("Daddy") Lehman, J.D. Brunk, and Harold Bender. Bender single-handedly took on the sponsorship of debate, student athletic activity, the *Maple Leaf* and the Mennonite Historical Society (MHS), founded in 1921, giving particular care to reshaping the latter organization. To these faculty guides were added in the following years enthusiastic motivators of student

extracurricular activity such John S. Umble (English), B.F. Hartzler (music), and, succeeding Hartzler in music in 1931, Walter Yoder—all of whom brought Old Goshen experience. Former students gamely came to campus to assist in the proper launching of the literary societies. D.S. Gerig was invited to campus repeatedly to judge speech contests or rule on debate decisions. And the new students were not completely ignorant of collegiate tradition. Some of the venerable traditions Goshen had modeled in the past such as literary society rivalry, formation of select vocal quartets, and student volunteerism had been perpetuated, interestingly enough, in versions appropriated by its younger sibling schools, Hesston and Eastern Mennonite. Now those two institutions supplied much of the new crop of Goshen students, who unwittingly had brought their accustomed extracurricular activities back to the source.

Spirited, optimistic students contributed verve and created momentum throughout a year that might have given itself over to faintheartedness or gloom. Faculty dedication to the cause of rebuilding was another essential factor in leading Goshen forward through that first year and beyond. The faculty family being gradually but sure-handedly assembled by Yoder included members of complementary talents and temperaments. One of its common denominators, as a more permanent teaching faculty took shape over the last half of the 1920s, was its steady accumulation of graduate level scholarly credentials. Yoder himself set an example of academic discipline in summer terms—his only vacation from full-time presidential duties—to earn by 1927 both the B.A. degree at the State University of Iowa and the LL.B (Bachelor of Laws) at Hamilton College of Law in Chicago.

The interplay of common purpose with striking personality differences and backgrounds among the individuals of the emerging faculty body gave it breadth and resiliency. A pair of key players in the re-emerging Goshen, whose contrasting qualities veterans of that scene frequently mention, were Dean and professor of Bible Noah Oyer, and Harold S. Bender, initially hired at Goshen to teach history and sociology and serve as college librarian. In fact, in 1924 the men shared many common traits. They were rough contemporaries, Bender born in 1897 and Oyer in 1891. They had been teaching colleagues at Hesston College for two years and were close friends. Both held degrees from Princeton Theological Seminary, where their courses of study had overlapped in 1921-1922, and where both had been appreciative students of the conservative theologian J. Gresham Machen. Each possessed a familiarity and shrewdness about the Mennonite brotherhood and education that enabled him to formulate policy and get things done. In 1922, Noah Oyer had founded a Mennonite Historical Society at Hesston; Harold Bender revived one, famously, at Goshen in 1924. At Goshen College, the two were immediately recognized as superb teachers, and this ability, combined with the numerous roles they played in the new col-

lege, the keen interest they felt for students, and their individual varieties of personal charisma, meant that they were greatly influential to Goshen students.³⁶ One could even compare family connections in the small world of Mennonite education: Harold the nephew of Hesston president D.H. Bender, Noah with Illinois family ties to Bluffton's C. Henry Smith.

It was in temperament and approach that Bender and Oyer differed markedly. Bender bristled with intelligence. Physically restless, gregarious and assertive, he personified managerial action. He carried into Goshen College some of his native brashness and impetuosity, these probably reinforced by a quantity of intellectual impatience imbibed at the Goshen College of his undergraduate years, 1914-1918. He took a hands-on approach in matters of student advising and program planning, less so in mundane, nonacademic details. One car-owning Hesston student of around 1920 harbored the memory of his passenger, Professor Bender, seated on the running board munching cheese and crackers, as the student single-handedly repaired a blown tire.³⁷ Bender was talkative. Some of his leadership depended on voluble pronouncements that could seem, simply by virtue of Bender having uttered them, to summon ideas into factual reality. The infectious enthusiasm that propelled his enormous service to the institution occasionally veered across the bounds of others' privacy or perceived institutional turf.

Noah Oyer, by contrast, is said to have communicated effectively out of reserve and quietness. His favorite hymn text, John Greenleaf Whittier's "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind / Forgive our fev'rish ways. . .," was a paean to calm. Oyer made an impact on a more intimate scale than did the impetuous Harold Bender of the late 1920s, hearing students' confidences, providing spiritual counsel, and addressing himself professionally to the needs of Mennonite young people. He was perceptive, both in sermons and in private conversation. In the seven years of his tenure, Oyer impressed a lasting design on the Goshen College ethos explicitly by stressing the totality of the Christian life. He created an annual study and devotional gathering dedicated to the examination of Christian integrity, calling the meetings Christian Life conferences at a juncture in time when one might have expected the words "Doctrine" or "Bible" in the place of "Life". In his demeanor and personal dealings Oyer seemed to exemplify this ideal of wholeness and equilibrium. He had a practical streak; as a student grounds manager at Hesston he had supervised and helped create an aquarium and college gate, hand-constructing special bricks to match his archway design.³⁸ In the summer of 1924, while readying Goshen for re-opening, he also rehabilitated his family's Goshen dwelling, the former "Missionary House" at 1424 South Eighth Street, through which a parade of transient tenants had come and gone since the college's beginning.

One could outline other complementary dynamics from the develop-

ing faculty roster of the college's rebuilding years. The neophyte business manager, C.L. Graber, brought as the sum of his scholastic qualifications for the job two years of bookkeeping class at his Washington (Iowa) high school. On the job at Goshen, expected to teach bookkeeping himself, he hastily registered with the La Salle Extension University for a correspondence course in accounting. He wrote later that his grasp of the college fiscal situation upon his arrival in office in the spring of 1924 pretty much amounted to, "The Lord will provide."³⁹ And yet Sanford Yoder, following the suggestion of his wife Emma that he "get Chris Graber" for the job, had not misjudged Graber's ability to grow into it. In an application of broad liberal arts thinking to the selection of personnel, profitably copied by subsequent Goshen administrations, Yoder considered more than the bare facts of a transcript. In Graber's case, for example, he trusted, rightly, that the young man's native bearings, his most recent assignment as a pastor in the Sugar Creek congregation near Wayland, Iowa, and the broad immersion in the school of life that was his term of Near East Relief service from 1919-1920, fitted him for service in the business office.⁴⁰

Recruitment of faculty could begin at the student level, a procedure practiced since the days of the Elkhart Institute. The Illinois native Willard Smith and the Iowan Verna Graber (Smith), sister to C.L. Graber, were promising Hesston students who transferred to Goshen College after its reopening and ended up making faculty careers there, in history and foreign languages respectively. Willard Smith's service outside the classroom included his substantial work between 1937 and 1960 coordinating top quality public lecture and music events on campus.

Olive Wyse, another Iowan, transferred to Goshen in 1924 as a junior. She had formerly attended Iowa Wesleyan, an experience which had enhanced her awareness of the wider academic world. By her senior year at Goshen, she had been pressed into service as instructor in physical education for the women students; later she earned a doctoral degree in home economics and served on the faculty a total of fifty years. This early identification by President Yoder of Wyse as being faculty material resulted in, among other contributions, the special attention to faculty events, and expansive graciousness of spirit attending them, that Wyse gave as chair of the faculty social committee formed under the succeeding administration.⁴¹ Lest anyone assume that the alimentary and social emphases were given at the cost of female identity, we should note that Wyse was always a courageous, forthright conscience to several presidents on the questions of equity for women faculty.⁴²

Yet another Iowan, Edward Yoder, followed the new pattern of coming to Goshen by way of Hesston. But no description of Yoder should limit him to pattern or formula, since posterity—in the form of his published journal—has revealed him to be probably the greatest individualist ever to think

or move among Goshen's faculty. Edward Yoder contributed another paradoxical quantity to the re-established Goshen College. He was reared in rural Kalona, a community from which a slightly earlier wave of Amish Mennonite youth, such as John and Mary Fisher, Alvin Shetler, and Milton and Henry Brenneman, had gone east to attend Goshen College. After a period of uncertainty due to scruples on the part of his father, Yoder entered Hesston College. He began doctoral study at the University of Pennsylvania in 1925, and accepted a teaching position at Goshen in 1926-1928 while he completed his dissertation on "The Position of Possessive and Demonstrative Adjectives in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius." Following the conferral of his degree in 1928, he joined the Hesston College faculty, serving as dean from 1929 to 1932. In 1933, he accepted an invitation to return to teach at Goshen.

Our view of Edward Yoder is privileged by a window onto his personality to which few, if any, of his contemporaries had access. Students at Goshen in the 1930s viewed Yoder as something of an enigma: "We knew he was there," one remembered, "but we didn't really know *him*."⁴³ In 1985, Edward Yoder's sister Ida Yoder, with Edward's son Virgil, published a journal she had edited which Edward Yoder kept from 1931 until a month before his death in March 1945. The journal reveals private thought of originality and range, and shows Yoder to have enjoyed great inner freedom from convention. In the pages of his diary, for example, Edward Yoder registered his feeling of kinship with the Renaissance thinker Erasmus. He expressed joy in the beauty of nature, twinned with a realistic view of natural forces. He penned his disappointment in the dearth of independent thought observed at a June 1934 Indiana-Michigan Conference session. This one man, the journal testifies, harbored a universe of contradictions: a Mennonite farm boy who mail-ordered from Montgomery Ward and Company a one-volume *Works of Shakespeare* to begin his process of self-education, but whose family's modest educational aspirations prevented him from beginning college until age twenty-one; who conducted an almost hermitic public life, but entertained strikingly free private views on topics like evolution, sex education, and nudism; who entered the nascent American field of Anabaptist studies at Harold Bender's behest, translating humanistic Latin writing from the pen of Conrad Grebel, but who made a scholarly mark in his own right in the world of classical studies with his dissertation on the minutiae of Latin grammar. How many Mennonites of Edward Yoder's era (or any era) greeted the arrival of their first child (named Virgil after the author of *The Aeneid*) by quoting words the author Cicero had penned on a similar occasion? One of Yoder's favorite texts was the Duke's speech from act two of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, "Sweet are the uses of adversity," which describe the human capacity to redeem hardship, to "find . . . good in everything."⁴⁴

Outwardly Edward Yoder presented an image of plain-suited scholarly reserve, with a social impulse inclined toward the reclusive. The points where the private and public Yoder intersected were in talks and articles he prepared, usually at the invitation of some busy, more visible Goshen colleague. Yoder's clearly stated, cleanly reasoned meditations elevated the discussion of going topics like peace and nonconformity to something like an art form. These reflected the uncompromising truth-telling found in his journal entries, and in doing so took the risk of appealing to and alienating any number of audiences. Yoder was discomfited, for example, to realize after the publication of his essay "Nonconformity," that while no conservative readers had commended it, a "bohemian" young man, sent away from the college earlier as a bad influence, had made an effort to write in its praise.⁴⁵ Edward Yoder gave proof that a highly educated, intelligent, freethinking man, cultivating a range of "contraband" topics for private consideration, could be, at the same time, sensibly orthodox on questions of faith and personal devotion, and lead many effectively in the classroom and the church press. Reading Edward's journal one feels that Goshen College, and the Mennonite Church of Yoder's times, were enriched by the anomalous, great-minded Yoder simply staying home thinking.⁴⁶

Apart from the human interest to be gleaned studying Goshen's new faculty, a recognition of complementary qualities among them helps us understand Goshen's ability to persevere through the uncertainties of the 1920s and the lean circumstances of the Great Depression. The American Depression of the 1930s increased Goshen College's difficulties at a time when the institution would have welcomed boons, rather than threats, to its survival.⁴⁷ The national economic crisis compounded the tasks of attracting students, paying faculty, and maintaining a college physical plant, tasks crucial to a school that had recently lost momentum during a year's hiatus. The Goshen faculty and staff and their families made large sacrifices to Goshen College during the Depression. College salaries, profoundly modest in the late 1920s, shrank to a subsistence level in the economic desert of the early 1930s. For months at a time they evaporated altogether.

The diaries kept during this period by Professors Silas Hertzler and Edward Yoder bear testimony to patient economies, practiced in faith by faculty families, against a backdrop of serious financial strain. "No money at the college," Hertzler wrote on August 1, 1931, "... now I have 2 months back pay coming. . . . Paid interest and prin. [sic] \$10 to Mrs. Plank today any way. Soap .20 toothpaste .33 collars 1.00 . . . house payment 10.00 groceries 2.44." ⁴⁸ Edward Yoder noted the prohibitive cost to him, a faculty member, of the 1933 Homecoming Thanksgiving banquet to which returning alumni, on the other hand, happily thronged: "Since the charge for a plate was fifty cents, I was not present for the occasion." He and his wife Estie allowed themselves only one subscription to the campus Lecture Course

that year. Wry humor helped make sense of difficult conditions. After detailing in November 1934 the college policy of paying in full all bills other than salaries, and of making professors' income dependent on the liquidation of student notes, Yoder observed, "This situation makes a teacher's work here very definitely a faith venture, and as such it has its romantic and interesting phases."⁴⁹ An even more humorous but sympathetically revealing tale of Depression hardship that circulated among students at the college in the 1940s involved a Goshen student who, in need of advice on some matter, called unannounced on a distinguished member of the faculty at his home. At the house, the student discovered the unclad professor, calmly reading and wrapped in a bed sheet, as the professor's wife ironed his single pair of trousers.⁵⁰

Faculty families took in sewing, sold garden produce, or raised rabbits for sale on the side. Single women on the faculty had to accept campus accommodations since their salaries were insufficient to cover room and board. Fathers of families such as Business Manager C.L. Graber or Professor John S. Umble, absorbed in campus duties during the week, would again vanish from home over weekends to "shake the bushes" for money and students.⁵¹ Few families owned cars; most got around on foot or bicycles. Distant friends of Goshen College remembered the institution in hard times. One Illinois farm family donated eggs, of all things, sending the fragile cargo to Indiana for college and faculty use.

Lois Winey, a Hesston Academy graduate from Colorado with business school training and bookkeeping experience, had arrived at Goshen to attend college in 1933. Identified in short order by the sharp-eyed Harold Bender as a quick student with a mind for business, Winey soon found herself assisting Business Manager Graber, the person primarily responsible for college finances during these nerve-racking years. The secretarial assistant in Bender's adjoining office was Winey's fellow student, Retha Hostetler (Kauffman). Winey remembered that when Bender and Graber were out of the office—frequently, under the circumstances—the women simply had to lock the administrative doors behind them, climb the stairs to class, and return to duty later.⁵²

The Great Depression made grave demands on Goshen administrators and faculty. President Yoder's policy was said to be, "Pay the faculty first; if there is any left, pay me." A student who sat near the front of Yoder's Old Testament Poetry class noticed that the college president had used ink to darken the frayed edges of his plain coat.⁵³ Given such straitened circumstances, administrators, faculty, and students pulled together. Yet the Depression's deprivations inevitably created moments of tension between such a small and closely-knit group. "Morale was pretty low" among faculty by the fall of 1933, recalled Professor Winey.

The Depression placed extraordinary pressure on Business Manager C.L. Graber, since in Goshen's case the crisis broadsided an institution already in tenuous financial health. Graber had charge not only of husbanding faculty salaries but of satisfying students whose farm-rich but cash-poor Menonite parents wanted to send them to Goshen. Campus work-study plans of various stripes had been in effect at Goshen since Elkhart Institute days (J.E. Hartzler took pride in old age at having earned tuition by slathering the first paint on the Administration Building's window frames), but the Great Depression insisted on a more systematic approach to student earning.

Somehow C.L. Graber thought of shirts—Goshen College work shirts. He discovered the machinery of a garment factory for sale in Ohio, which he purchased intact and transported to Goshen. In September 1934 he had them installed in the basement of Coffman Hall. Joseph E. Brunk, an alumnus and earlier manager of the dining hall, became the factory supervisor. Students' earnings were directly applied to tuition. This peculiar arrangement—student garment workers heading underground after classes to produce blue chambray "G.C." brand work shirts—had some disadvantages. For one, the harried Graber, on top of everything else, now had to market shirts.

On the other hand, the scheme had good points. Without such a job, the students involved could not have kept coming to school. And to the student peers like Mary Kaufmann of Illinois, Emanuel Hertzler of Pennsylvania, and Richard Yoder of Ohio, who chatted down a long table of machines as they double-stitched collars or sewed in sleeves, the factory proved a pleasant place to earn an education. Supervisor Joe Brunk and his wife, Alice, entertained student employees on outings and visits in their home. Every student worker got to keep a souvenir shirt. And during one memorable World Series, no one objected to borrowing a radio for Coffman basement; the shirt factory was for several days thus enlivened by the announcer's excited announcements whenever Babe Ruth stepped up to home plate, raised his bat, and in his peculiar way pointed out the direction his next hit would take.⁵⁴ Ultimately, as John Umble said tactfully of the venture, the shirt factory "was only moderately successful" financially.⁵⁵ But in its immediate moment, the plan showed ingenuity. It assisted deserving students and helped occupy the seats of college classrooms at the same time.⁵⁶

Remarkably, in spite of hardship, the focus of faculty concern during the Depression seems not to have been on the financial deprivations of remaining in Goshen's employ, bleak as they indeed were at times, but on the need to find the strategies for surviving poverty while holding fast to the college mission. President Yoder made an impression on students attending the college in the years just following the most severe crisis by

declaring that every generation should experience an economic depression for the sake of toughening personal fiber.⁵⁷ Journal thoughts confided in the especially difficult spring of 1934 by Edward Yoder, housed with his family and those of Professors Paul Bender and Glen Miller in the cubby-like apartments of North Hall, combine a glimpse of the real quandaries of the college situation, a timeless evocation of Goshen in late April, and an over-coming spirit:

. . . I have more and more work to do and inversely there is less and less prospect for receiving financial income of any moment for this semester. . . .

To one who has invested years of time and thousands of dollars of money, some borrowed, in preparation to work in the schools of the Mennonite Board of Education, the prospect is dark and dismal. . . .

The sun, a huge round ball of fire, is just ready to drop behind the horizon. From my west window I can look upon it in its splendor and glory. It has been a warm day. I walked downtown this afternoon. The air was mild and the fragrance of blossoms and of the springtime earth was on the air. The depression is bad, but Spring is good.⁵⁸

Among various challenges, the Yoder administration from the start faced ongoing criticism of the college from outside. Whatever illogic there might have been in attacking a completely new administration, whose explicitly avowed purpose was the obedient remedying of Goshen's past mistakes, the attacks continued. It was almost as if the apogee of Goshen criticism had not yet been reached, and the cycle had to play itself out. The most immediate source of criticism were certain segments of the Indiana-Michigan Conference, whose leaders' complaints amounted to a war of attrition. Despite the changes being made at Goshen, and despite the fact that some of the most highly critical bishops were seldom if ever seen on campus, the conference was hardening yet further in its suspicions of the mysterious goings-on within college walls.⁵⁹ Late in life, Sanford Yoder recalled a kind of annual courtship-dance-in-reverse: on the eve of conference, briefings on college affairs by Yoder at the request of the cordial, receptive Indiana-Michigan representatives, then harsh words for Goshen from the same men the following day.⁶⁰

If the Indiana-Michigan Conference engaged in a war of attrition, the actions taken by J.B. Smith in February 1931 amounted to *Blitzkrieg*. Perhaps expectations for an annihilation of the Old Goshen spirit among these former critics of the college had been raised too high by the year's hiatus, and the criticism of the new Goshen sprang out of disappointment in any evidence of continuity or compromise. In any case, Smith discovered in

photographs of a 1930 student Halloween masquerade the pretext for a densely printed, three-page jeremiad against Goshen's relaxation of conservative standards—with a very few mild criticisms against Hesston College thrown in (the thrust being Hesston's dangerous inclination to make contact with Goshen). "Pictures of the [Halloween] occasion. . .," Smith wrote,

indicate conduct and appearance that are alike indecent, shocking, and ridiculous. There appear exchange of attire (an abomination to the Lord. Deut. 22: 5) painted and distorted faces, shameful immodesty and what cannot be construed in any other light but sacrilege, a mock marriage. It appears that most of those taking part are members of the church, some children of prominent families including those of missionaries.

Smith also proposed in his open letter that some on the faculty and board had maneuvered to eliminate some of the "safeguards" of the board constitution. He even worked in a gratuitous contrast between President Sanford Yoder's level of scholarly acumen and that of the more eminent New Testament scholar, Archbishop Richard Trench, and implied that Yoder was untrustworthy on the dress question.⁶¹

Smith intended to take Goshen College's errors before a churchwide audience. To every minister of the Mennonite Church, Smith distributed the statement, enclosing reproductions of the photographs. Smith had superimposed captions on the images: "Heathenizing Christians at Goshen College," said the caption under a picture of boys dressed up in pantaloons and head scarves; "Vieing [sic] with the daughters of Zion Is. 3," read the line on a photograph of girls wearing kimonos (which were a bit scant around the girls' knees). "Forgetting I Cor 10:31 at Goshen College," announced the label written at the bottom of a group scene. Smith sent the materials to the Board of Education shortly before meetings scheduled for February 23-24, 1931. One cannot help wondering at the puzzlement felt by the recipients, as they pulled these spooky apparitions out of their February mail. Be that as it may, in the wake of such a public accusation, the difficulty for the college was not only Goshen's latest depiction as a saturnalia of moral laxity. The new administration had realized that the diplomacy of its response to such provocative claims could determine as much of future relations with constituents as the charges themselves. An event like the Smith statement required a carefully calibrated but swift public response.

But the imperative to the college to defend itself could not have come at a more ill-fated moment. On Wednesday, February 25, the evening following the board meetings, Dean Noah Oyer, whose health for two months had wavered between grave illness and recovery, died of typhoid fever. The news placed the college community into a state of stunned grief. The week's remaining classes were canceled; in light of the circumstances, the tempo-

ral business of the campus seemed pointless and trivial.⁶² Nevertheless, the next day found a stoic Sanford Yoder setting about to lessen the damage done by Smith's circular letter and photos, taking the occasion as he wrote to ruffled constituents to inform them of Oyer's passing the previous evening. Agitated responses to the Smith report, at least one of them bitterly accusing Oyer personally, had been received hours before Oyer's death, and continued to arrive in the following days.⁶³

Fortunately for Goshen College, S.C. Yoder met adversity with some of his best qualities. His letters to difficult correspondents blend poetic saintliness with a realist's grasp of human nature. Yoder as communicator deployed a kind of philosophical rhythm, as if counting an extra beat before offering a response. In public speaking, he gave the impression of a "gentle giant": a tall, impressive man with a steady, unperturbed voice. "He attracted your attention simply because he spoke so calmly, and often about things that were quite significant," a student in the final years of Yoder's presidency remembered of his Assembly Hall addresses.⁶⁴ The impression of unhurried deliberateness could be pacifying, and sometimes quite witty, but always formidable in its way. Related to Yoder's expressive timing were cadences of language often poetic or proverbial—not surprising in a man devoted to Old Testament literature, and fully evident in later writing by Yoder, such as his memoir of homesteading in Washington state, *Horse Trails Along the Desert*. Of the 1931 Smith tirade, Yoder responded dryly to the inquiry of a concerned recipient, "Some of the information he gives is true, some half true, and some not true at all."⁶⁵

Equally impressive was Yoder's capacity to persuade, advise, or admonish another party without letting go the lines of respect and compassion. In 1934 J.B. Smith, who only three years before had caused President Yoder so much trouble over the Halloween photographs, sought Yoder's advice on handling an Elida, Ohio congregational conflict to which Smith was party. Patiently but firmly Yoder responded, "I do feel, Brother Smith, that we must get to the place where we will use our influence against controversies that grow out of conditions such as the one at Elida. . . . I know that when a person is attacked it is often very hard to sit down and say nothing, but sometimes that is the very best thing to do. . . ."⁶⁶ The kindly tone, combined with the barest hint of rhetorical strategy, were vintage S.C. Yoder. He was also known to call on stoic-comic resources that for him helped sweeten unreasonable demands. After receiving from the missionary M.C. Lehman in India several pressing requests concerning a daughter's transfer of credits to Goshen College, for example, Yoder wrote impassively to Dean Oyer, "If you can find time to do this I will appreciate it. . . . He is perhaps needlessly persistent but he is M.C. Lehman and can be made no one else."⁶⁷ These unexpected flashes of Yoder's humane wit revealed a comprehensive acceptance of the dignity and irritations of human individu-

ality. And administering Goshen College drew heavily on President Yoder's reserves of wit and forbearance.

To the critics' dismay, the college had undergone no sea change when it opened in 1924. To the weary realization of the overextended new administrators, the tide of Goshen criticism had not ebbed with the closing. But the new beginning provided the institution a chance to take the offensive, as it were, in the conflict. The very early accomplishment of new Goshen was to promote and prove itself as a "child of the church," one of the reassuring phrases applied to its reorganized identity, an institution capable of working "in harmony with the principles of the church," as S.C. Yoder announced in his opening address to students in the fall of 1924 (*Record*, October 1924). The most important general message being sent now by academics to ecclesiastics was their interest in abolishing the distinction implied in those categories. A number of emphases that took root very early under the new dispensation—on history, peace, a pervasive endorsement of the principle of balance in all things—promoted Goshen's development as an accepted participant in, and even influence on, the life of the church.

In the past, one obstacle separating church and school was the fearful sense among older, less educated, or conservative-minded Mennonites that Goshen College was perhaps exerting too much influence in the church, or that its progeny were assuming too much authority. Strangely, it might actually have been the failure of the college generously to involve itself in official church activity to any full extent, and of the church to welcome its college-educated in its important business, that made Goshen College seem so alien and to feel so alienated. For the various reasons explored in the previous chapters, the Old Goshen College was perceived, and to some extent actually functioned, more as an enclave into which some Mennonite young people vanished (a prodigal destination) than as a participatory "child of the church." The genius of the new Goshen in the area of church relations was from its first day to empty itself self-consciously, to open its activities, and almost to foist its personnel and resources onto a church body which then gradually realized how profitably it could use them.

Of course, the new college people did not accomplish better church relations merely through taking the initiative for increased contact and availability to church functions. And they recognized that gaining a foothold within the ecclesiastical pale would not be accomplished solely on the strength of going into the churches; after all, J.E. Hartzler had made an unceasing round of church visitation during his presidency without earning their approval. Achieving trust would also involve persuasive, humble expressions of doctrine, free and open assertions of orthodoxy, and, when necessary, the forthright dismissal of progressives' ideas deemed wrong-headed, or simply wrong. President Yoder, the new faculty, and the student body following 1924 did not engage in unflattering comparisons of the

former and present institution. But their assertions of orthodoxy were probably made easier due to the consensus that the disharmony at Goshen in the year before the closing, no matter where you stood in the debate, did not become a college. In any case, the new Goshenites were giving the unqualified verbal assurances constituents had been pleading to have for years.

Public declarations by students and faculty in early years, in speeches, *Record* articles, book reviews, letters to the editor, and so forth, went out of their way to stake out a moderate, less ambiguous theological position for Goshen College. Wisely declining to jettison any specific practice of the earlier period, President Yoder nonetheless made plain in his opening address that the new team should not be made responsible for earlier mistakes: "We are starting out anew and have an inherited prejudice to overcome—a prejudice for which we are not responsible—the causes of which are not altogether without foundation" (*Record*, October 1924). Before long, the mature and well-spoken student leader Joseph D. Graber had in a *Record* editorial weighed the crucial dichotomy of the moment, liberalism and fundamentalism, and come out eloquently for fundamentalism (June 1925). Peers and critics alike who were prepared to attach to H.S. Bender an Old Goshen-*Christian Exponent* label must have watched with interest and some dazzlement in the first few years the outpouring of stoutly orthodox pronouncements from Bender's pen. He wrote in 1926 for the *Gospel Herald* an article entitled "Fundamentals Should Be Taught These Days."⁶⁸ He placed in a summer faculty number of the *Record* an exposé and denunciation of modernism in the American university, and mentioned one of his own graduate schools, Garrett Biblical Institute (July-August 1925). He charged most explicitly into the Old Goshen controversy in his withering treatment given to a 1925 book on Mennonite education written by J.E. Hartzler, the man who had served as president throughout Bender's own Goshen College days. There Bender, twenty-nine years old to Hartzler's forty-seven, thrashed the senior writer for making errors and misinterpretations in Anabaptist history and for suggesting the campus was still under lock and key.⁶⁹

In fact, when Hartzler and Bender crossed pens in 1926 over topics seemingly distant from one another, Anabaptist historiography and American Mennonite education, their dialogue anticipated a future in which the two areas would in fact become intimately connected. In August 1924, Harold and Elizabeth Bender embarked from Europe for the United States with their German friend Ernst Correll, like Harold a new professor at the reorganized Goshen College. Unlike Harold, however, Correll came with no personal experience of the place and no direct contacts among its administrators. That the new faculty at Goshen must include Ernest Correll—this relatively unknown, tobacco-smoking, European Lutheran, whose use of English idiom was functional but unpredictable—Bender as-

sumed with blithe confidence in the importance of Correll's scholarly subject, Anabaptist-Mennonite history, the subject whose fascination had overcome Bender himself in Europe.⁷⁰ The arrival at Goshen College in 1924 of this intelligent trio of scholarly thinkers with an interest in redeeming Anabaptist history from its ignominious obscurity profoundly influenced not only Goshen College's subsequent identity, but the course of Mennonitism in the following decades.

H.S. Bender's forum for the promotion of Mennonite history would be the Mennonite Historical Society, a society which had been organized at Goshen in 1921 by John J. Fisher Sr. and others.⁷¹ In Bender's words in his 1925 *Maple Leaf* write-up, the former organization had grown "moribund," though that charge might be considered moot in light of the fact that the entire institution was closed during 1923-1924. (Bender's use of "reborn" to describe the Society in its 1924 manifestation suggests something about his view of its importance and destiny.) With the MHS as his vehicle, Bender rather stormed into the momentary vacuum of student tradition and extra-curricular activity present in the first months of the term. His three-page MHS news accounts in the *Record* and the three-page illustrated spread in the 1925 *Maple Leaf* for which he served as advisor were out of proportion to the coverage given, for example, to the Christian Workers Band or the literary societies. At times the Bender promotional rhetoric verged on harangue: "Read Mennonite History Now" commanded the title of an unsigned *Record* article from Bender's pen (July-August 1925). One might imagine with a bit of amusement Bender's student readers, earnestly puzzling over the regular loving reports of the Historical Society's lately-acquired copies of the *Ausbund* and *Märtyrerspiegel*, with the dutiful sense that these tomes, sprung loose by the enterprising Bender from the cellars and garrets of Mennonite farmhouses, must somehow be important to their lives. Yet almost immediately, in fact, the MHS did sponsor a vigorous, engaging series of activities. The Historical Society's second program brought to campus the almost 90-year-old John F. Funk of Elkhart, a living testament to the Mennonites' past century, to speak on "Beginnings of our Publishing Work" (December 1924). During the 1925 Winter Bible Term Bender spoke on "Journeys in the Land of the Mennonite Fathers," and used his personal slides of castles, dungeons, farmhouses and monuments, snapped during the previous year, to illustrate another lecture on Reformation history (February 1925). By 1926, the MHS published a *College Record Review Supplement*; in January 1927, editor Harold S. Bender, assisted by associate editors Guy F. Hershberger, John Umble, and Edward Yoder, launched *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Ernst Correll and Elizabeth Bender also contributed to the publishing effort. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* staked the new Goshen's claim in the expanding world of Mennonite journalism; its advent made the Old Goshen pretext for *The Christian Exponent* seem redundant, phantom-like.⁷²

Much has been written about the way the shift in emphasis toward historical Mennonitism, led by Harold Bender at Goshen College, offered the Mennonite Church a "third way" of authentic faith that eased the conservative-progressive log jam of the 1920s and 1930s.⁷³ The new focus also performed an immediate service to the college. By directing the campus community's awareness of college history to a heritage beyond the flash-points of 1923, Bender was broadening the institution's identity to include more than the polarities of "old" and "new," and discouraging the divisive need for young Mennonites to choose between them. Teaching a September 1931 Bible Study Class on "Mennonite Youth in a Modern World," Bender went so far as to suggest that some Goshen students had genetic ties to Anabaptist martyrs, an intensely romantic notion if a tenuous genealogical proposition. "Most of us [Mennonites] come from the Swiss Mennonites," Bender lectured.

We have a unique history. The blood of martyrs flows in our veins. For three hundred years our forefathers suffered extreme persecution. We are what we are, largely because of this unique past. Those three hundred years have engraved an indelible influence upon our actions and upon our thought life (*Record*, October 1931).

Here Bender, the enthusiastic young historian, had outdone in rhetoric even John S. Coffman, who had limited himself in "The Spirit of Progress" to claiming for the Elkhart Institute merely ideological roots to the martyrs. For the purest example of Bender's forward-looking historical evangelism, one may consult his 1927 proclamation printed inside the cover of the first issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*: "The Golden Age of the Mennonite Church is not past; it is just ahead," Bender trumpeted.

. . . . The heritage of the coming generation in faith and practice is sound. The faith has been kept. The historic ideals of the Mennonite Church are still functioning. . . . Youth of the Mennonite Church, the church of tomorrow! The heritage is yours. . . .⁷⁴

Related to, but independent of, the push at Goshen College for greater historical understanding of Mennonite origins was the revival of an emphasis on peace. In this, Guy Hershberger and the Board of Education's financial agent, Orie O. Miller, took the initiative, but here, too, Harold Bender was actively involved. There was a long-standing Goshen precedent of interest in nonresistance. Noah Byers and C. Henry Smith had founded the Inter-collegiate Peace Association, and held the organization's first conference at Goshen College in 1905. More recently, the impingement of World War I and its army camps onto the lives of Goshen students had brought to the forefront the issue of nonresistance, and in turn led to sizeable numbers of

conscientious objectors serving in eye-opening relief positions abroad. This experience yielded mixed results, ranging from divisive disagreements about the "social gospel" to a growing momentum of interest in examining Mennonites' peace witness. The emerging churchwide body devoted to this study was the Peace Problems Committee, appointed in 1925 by the Mennonite General Conference, which sponsored writing and conferences on the subject. A church-sponsored arena for peace study, frequented by the college's plain-garbed, respectful representatives, gradually legitimized a topic deemed a modernist lure only a few years before. To be sure, some ardent objections to the peace emphasis continued: plans for "world betterment," opponents argued, played down the need for salvation, peace gatherings yoked Mennonites with Quaker liberals, and so forth. The late 1920s interest in peace, church-state relations, and social concerns among Orie Miller, Guy Hershberger, Edward Yoder, and the like, really extended earlier efforts by N.E. Byers, by the World War I Army camp witnesses, by the American Friends Service Committee relief *équipes* in France and by the resulting Young People's Movement of the early 1920s. But the patient approach of the leaders of the movement, combined with the reconciling message of the topic itself, began to move Mennonites more generally toward a vision of peace as being "at the heart of the Gospel," as Hershberger repeatedly asserted, and a tacit approval of Goshen as a center for its study.⁷⁵

The tensions between Goshen College and the church were being eased by projects like historical and peace activities, activities grounded in the college, but simultaneously embracing of the brotherhood in ways that the Old Goshen's cool professionalism and favoring of educational emphases had not been. At the new Goshen there was also a decided moderation of what might be called the collective community's expectation of progress, that watchword hovering on symbolic banners above the school. Visionary successors to John S. Coffman, presidents Byers, Hartzler, and Detweiler in particular, took Coffman's watchword and ran with it, probably too fast for the supporting Mennonite constituency to countenance or keep pace with.⁷⁶ In the renewed Goshen, there can be observed a greater attention given to "discerning the times," a gift attributed particularly to Guy Hershberger, and a turn toward a more measured, less absolute view of progress.⁷⁷ Perhaps the new Goshen preponderance of faculty trained in history had something to do in coloring the community's more circumspect understanding of eras and cycles; certainly the blows to utopian thinking dealt by the war had revised Americans' expectations generally. The idea more germane to the Yoder presidency than any other was balance, expressed as an ideal on countless occasions in terms like poise, sanity, reason, temperance (the latter clearly a sign of the times). Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to theorize that the new Goshen of 1924-1940 answered the lyrical Romantic outpourings of the Old Goshen with a neo-Classical voice of calm and equanimity.

The students and faculty populating the post-1924 campus cultivated a certain detachment: not an ascetic renunciation of the world around, by any means (with the exception of Edward Yoder at his most monastic, perhaps), but a self-possession, a sense of when to temporize; a poise, to use the word again. In 1934, senior John C. Wenger of eastern Pennsylvania, destined to become a long-tenured, widely-known member of Goshen's Biblical Seminary, delivered a speech in praise of "Mental Poise," in which he advised solving economic and other world problems in a "sane, sensible manner," and to "banish all extremism from our thinking" (*Record*, June 1934). In interesting contrast to Elizabeth Horsch (Bender)'s 1918 Goshen essay "Ignorance versus Error," in 1925 the student Minnie Swartzendruber (Graber) produced "Essay on Ignorance." Where Elizabeth Horsch had argued for ceaseless intellectual striving toward truth, Minnie Swartzendruber counseled readers to avail themselves of worthwhile knowledge, but to accept and acknowledge its limits. "One must form a middle course," Swartzendruber wrote, "a sane view of our relation to knowledge and ignorance" (*Record*, January 1925). Edward Yoder in the early thirties repeated in his diary Will Durant's pithy aphorism, "Perspective is everything." Paradoxically, in the tense climate following Goshen's closing, a moderate pace could ultimately prove more effective in getting things done.⁷⁸ Clearly the presence of the master of equilibrium, Sanford Yoder, exerted its influence; and others caught the spirit.

In one sense, the approach revived the questions of essentials and non-essentials so vivid for the pre-closing era. Now, however, definitions and categories had rearranged themselves slightly. Higher priority was being placed on independence of mind than on absolute freedom of conscience. Individual rights were ranking a bit lower than communal harmony. Elizabeth Bender later frankly described difficult decisions she and Harold Bender made along these lines, such as signing in 1924 the pledge of loyalty to Indiana-Michigan Conference authority, as "halfway against our conscience to do that. . . . But we did sign because we thought the major good is keeping the church together."⁷⁹

Readjustment also came in the degree to which the new representatives self-consciously made connections between faith and learning, making certain to approach the world of knowledge from a Christian vantage point. Earlier the starting point tended to be the world of knowledge: what from broad culture could be carried (safely) into the church? The Elkhart-Goshen Mennonite pioneers who began building the institution naturally assumed a foundation of Christianity underlying the individuals who left their farm communities to attend the school. With that basic, unspoken assumption agreed upon, it was not necessary to dwell on one's Christianity; that was taken care of; and one felt free to move on to the business of education. The certainty of that fact as an unstated given probably was jostled

by the growing Mennonite acceptance of the idea of personal salvation as central to the Christian life. Ironically, it was also probably the inevitably greater acculturation possessed by this second generation of Mennonite students, coming of age in the roaring 1920s, that urged those involved in Mennonite education to think more deliberately about the implications of their Christian commitment.

Sanford Yoder, H.S. Bender and others explicating the college's philosophy bent over backwards after 1924 to make it plain that Goshen would take its Christianity out to meet humanistic and scientific achievements, rather than passively wait for the various (secularized) disciplines to come to the community. In a 1925 article headed, "Put Christianity into the Curriculum," Bender argued vehemently for Christianity to pervade college life. In September 1928, S.C. Yoder devoted considerable research to a lengthy chapel address on "Christianity and Education as Factors in Character Building," in which he addressed the general difficulty of maintaining a distinctly Christian church college. "It is not enough that we Christians are able to state what we think and explain what we read," Yoder concluded, "but it is necessary that our testimony be strengthened by what we feel deep in our souls."⁸⁰ Again, this approach did not make of one's faith a nervous defense against the wrong kinds of knowledge or culture; it actually freed Christian scholars to put on the armor of faith for the fearless conquering of all areas of knowledge. The emerging rationale for taking on the liberal arts was that of Christian perspective: one need not shrink from examining or attempting to understand the products of culture, only to place the various objects of study within the normative, stabilizing context of one's Christianity.

On every hand, representatives of the new Goshen were articulating the need for incorporating "Christ in the Curriculum," to borrow the title of Bender's article—a broad, pervasive presence in campus life, from dining hall courtesies through chapel prayers and calculus class to friendly competition on the tennis court. This was an attitude toward the Christian liberal arts—Athens by way of Jerusalem—that to varying degrees has characterized the Goshen College approach since Sanford Yoder.⁸¹ Taking this slant on the conundrum of faith and learning at Goshen actually ushered the in-house college policymakers back to the feet of John S. Coffman, whose "Spirit of Progress," for all its free historical range and encouragement of a liberal arts agenda, did insist, in its final lines, on "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus" at the core of all studies and disciplines.

Contrary to what might have been expected in an institution that now declared its intent to press the Christian seal onto every aspect of college life, this approach actually brought greater freedom to the campus and the classroom. For one thing, it represented careful, studied thinking by its faculty practitioners and student leaders, rather than any simplistic retreat into

religiosity. They were interested in exploring the relationship of faith to learning for its own sake and for personal satisfaction, as well as in loosening the knots of misunderstanding still present in the dealings with some ecclesiastical onlookers. For another, it moved the college toward a matured composure that was not so interested in forbidding certain materials in the curriculum—or scrambling to defend uncensored materials to college critics—as in helping students gain perspective on them. The position was superbly articulated in Professor of English John S. Umble's 1932 *Record* lead article entitled "Dead Sea Waters"—the title a reference to the spiritual emptiness of certain American literature. This rhetorically faultless essay by an alumnus of the Elkhart Institute and the Old Goshen left no doubt that its author had weighed the work of Poe, Whitman, and Hawthorne and found it wanting, in hope and in any useful life philosophy. But, Umble asked in a rhetorical turn with important implications for Goshen College's broader curricular and philosophical dilemmas, does that mean we must turn our backs on these works? "By no means!", Umble answered.

Let him enjoy the music of "The Raven" and "Annabelle Lee," let him learn . . . humanity and social equality with Whitman; let him laugh with Mark Twain . . . and let him fight with Melville the stern battle against the forces of nature. But let him be conscious that they . . . give only a partial view of life (May, 1932).

The important key was to recognize the literature's incompleteness as measured on the absolute scale of Christian value. Umble's conclusions, as they were being quietly reflected among his teaching colleagues in classrooms and student activities, offered a refinement of the sometimes over-optimistic and uncritical approach to the liberal arts of the Old Goshen group. But they also offered an enlightened improvement over the fearful legalism that had called for library purges, and had so antagonized earlier administrations. "Dead Sea Waters" emblemizes the crucial importance to the college's continuity and identity of a bridging figure like Umble. The ability of the college's present faculty to think through the questions of intellectual values, accountability to the church, campus emphases, etc., rested on the trials and errors of the college's first thirty years.

Isaiah W. Royer was another bridging figure during the Yoder administration. Like John S. Umble, he had Elkhart Institute credentials and was interested in an integral preservation of the best of the old in the new. Pastor of the Orrville (Ohio) Mennonite Church, Royer conducted Goshen's Winter Bible Term for numerous seasons between 1905 and 1941, spoke in campus chapels and devotionals, and with his wife, Christina Neuhauser Royer, frequently visited daughters Mary, Katherine, and Elizabeth when they attended the college.

In a morning chapel on January 16, 1936, Royer made use of a group

of poems, one by an author named Edgar Frank entitled, coincidentally, "Goshen." That poem captured a striving, transcendental idealism not too unlike the Old Goshen academic approach. "How can you live in Goshen?" its first speaker asks,

'This wretched country town
Where folks talk little things all year,
And plant their cabbage by the moon!'

"I do not live in Goshen—", responds a second voice:

'I eat here, sleep here, work here;
I live in Greece
Where Plato taught
And Phidias carved
I dwell in Italy
Where Michaelangelo wrought
In color, form, and mass;
Where Cicero penned immortal lines
And Dante sang undying songs. . . .'

Interestingly, Royer for his mid-1930s Goshen College audience answered the poem "Goshen" with two others selected to combat its "escape philosophy."⁸²

The wisdom of ballasting "escape philosophy" with the blessings of local reality found numerous other expressions at Goshen. A spirit that honored the wealth of immediate surroundings was being cultivated (alumni of the 1930s will tell you the spirit was assisted by an almost utter lack of campus automobiles, faculty, student, or otherwise). One does not find the homage paid in the campus press of earlier days to Tennyson's Ulysses, the prolific, questing hero who upon homecoming vows restlessly "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." Now students were more likely to hear Sanford Yoder quote Edna St. Vincent Millay's poem "Renascence," in which the speaker comes to see that, when enriched by the proper vision, her circumscribed local landscape contains the divine :

About the trees my arms I wound;
Like one gone mad I hugged the ground;
I raised my quivering arms on high;
I laughed and laughed into the sky

....

God, I can push the grass apart
And lay my finger on Thy heart!

....

But East and West will pinch the heart

That cannot keep them pushed apart;
And he whose soul is flat—the sky
Will cave in on him by and by.⁸³

This honoring of the local and familiar again steered the college weather vane in the direction of John S. Coffman. His map for the institution had urged its distinctiveness, the need for Goshen to be wholly itself as a beacon, rather than a slave, to other colleges' programs. While it did not sacrifice academic excellence—indeed, at every public opportunity Bender hammered away at the meaning of serious scholarship—the new Goshen revised its occasionally preening former image with ambitions to national academic stature to that of a quiet-in-the-land secret: a college of distinctively modest physical resources surprisingly rich in personnel and spirit. It would play up its particular strengths: an encompassing Christian life on campus, rather than an isolated item on the daily schedule; unpretentious hospitality and welcome; academic rigor with accessible, indeed service-motivated, professors and staff.

The new administrators gave considerable attention to the development of the college's Bible School. Noah Oyer, and after him Harold Bender, labored to maintain a soundly orthodox approach to biblical study at Goshen. At the same time, the Princeton Seminary experience of both men—and, for that matter, the quality of Bible instruction each had received at Goshen and Hesston Colleges—compelled them to shape a respectably rigorous curriculum. Both men envisioned the eventual emergence at Goshen the (Old) Mennonite Church's first graduate biblical seminary, but bringing that delicate vision to full blossom, both men understood, would require careful, diplomatic cultivation.

The Board of Education looked to the Bible School to set the reorganized college's internal compass, but undoubtedly more than that counted on the Bible department to create solid bridges to the churches. A 1932 *Bulletin* issued by the board spoke of each Mennonite school's imperative, in the face the "Great Wave of Liberalism" saturating the Christian world, to "foster such a spirit of fundamentalism that the very atmosphere and environment is charged with the Spirit of the eternal and living Word."⁸⁴ Those words, naturally, implied a Bible school positioned in the vigilant forefront of college operations. In 1933, under the deanship of H.S. Bender, the college established a four-year Bachelor of Theology curriculum, offering the occasional opportunity for a fifth year of theological study. Meanwhile, Bender set about building a Bible faculty that would be academically qualified and prepared to get behind a thoroughly conservative program. Two Goshen students of the mid-1930s showed promise as worthy candidates, a Kansan with a city mission background named Paul Minerger, and a Pennsylvanian of the Franconia Mennonite Conference, John C. Wenger. Following periods of graduate study, both men entered

into long tenures on the Bible faculty that began in 1937 and 1938, respectively.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, two faculty members less obviously suited to the program by the end of the decade had ended terms teaching Bible at Goshen College: M.C. Lehman of Old Goshen, Yale, and the India mission, and Gustav Enss, a Russian Mennonite immigrant by way of Bethel and Hesston who had published two articles based on Karl Barth's theological principles in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*.⁸⁶

Of course, all of the theories, philosophies, and trends claimed here for the Yoder era were in actuality being invented, tried, and proven in the irregular, untidy mill of daily events and human contacts. The Goshen College Memorial Library, a gracefully-proportioned red brick Georgian structure dedicated in the summer of 1940, expanded the campus southward from its original site bordering Eighth Street. But to understand college life in the years prior to 1940, a visitor familiar with the college grounds of the late twentieth century must rearrange the present map. He must give up the idea of the campus center as, perhaps, a table full of steaming coffee cups in the Union Building's "Leaf Raker" snack shop, and return to the former heart of the campus, Assembly Hall, Administration Building Room 28. Here were held daily chapels, virtually every public program by students, faculty, or otherwise, revival meetings, and Sunday morning worship. A large proportion of a student's four years were spent in the rows of wooden seats facing a platform, taking in the gold-lettered words of the motto, "Culture for Service," painted on the south wall above it, or idly numbering sections of the wood-paneled balcony that circled the hall. That gathering place provided the entire community an anchor of continuity, and occasionally the monotony of routine: one senior of 1931 recalled that he and his fellow usher had seen so much of Assembly Hall by one Sunday morning that they seated the congregants, closed the doors, and kept their own (carefully timed) Sabbath by the rushing waters of the dam.⁸⁷

The daily ritual of chapel brought everyone together. Students were assigned seats by class, and invited to leave the distractions of books, bags, and letters from home piled on tables by the doors. The faculty sat on the platform, facing the students, and individual faculty members presided over chapel in turn, offering prayer and announcements. There was always singing punctuated by the sound of hymnals being shot prematurely back into their racks. Sometimes a visiting speaker delivered a message; early in 1925, the Young People's Christian Association in collusion with the faculty "took over" the proceedings for a mission fund drive, startling the student audience by lining up in the platform chairs (*Record*, January 1925). Director B.F. Hartzler occasionally added suspense to choral performances by conducting the ensemble perched precariously on the edge of the Assembly Hall balcony.⁸⁸ Daily, students and faculty assembled for chapel closed the service singing the Gloria Patri—"World without end, A-men, A-men!"

If Assembly Hall represented the spiritual side of student experience, the dining hall provided temporal nourishment. This campus haunt had its rituals, too. Any student today must cast off his notions of the anarchy that is collegiate cafeteria dining in order to imagine the formality and etiquette that prevailed around tables for six in the Kulp Hall basement. Upperclassmen were given the responsibility of serving as hosts and hostesses for a rotating group of underclassmen guests at their tables. Students drew numbers upon entering the cafeteria Mondays; these determined their table assignment for the week. Veterans of these dining table lotteries, begun long before 1924, testify that this enforced mingling made, out of the relatively unglamorous occasion of meal-taking, the premier social opportunity on campus. And that tradition pointed right back to Goshen's origins. When Esther Steiner Meyer, an alumna of the Old Goshen, was asked how at Goshen College at age sixteen, a younger freshman, she became acquainted with J.C. Meyer, the older man-about-campus whom she later married, she responded, in a tone implying the obvious, "Well, we met in the dining hall. Talking, back and forth. Over the tables, you know. I guess he thought I could talk well."⁸⁹ Indeed, to form all students into pleasant, intelligent dinner conversationalists was one responsibility of the hosts and hostesses. They set examples by initiating appropriate topics of discussion, by passing dishes and unfolding napkins, by dealing courteously with the student "waitresses" who carried the family-style meals to and from the kitchen. For special occasions, such as the annual Vesperian Soiree, the dining hall was transformed through inventive decorations and custom into an even more refined setting of paired dinner companions and best clothing.

But though the dining hall served its share of starchy foods, especially under Depression conditions, it did not always insist on starchy manners. At breakfast and on weekends, seating was at the students' discretion. Routines could be interrupted by other routines, as when each fall the senior class (and thus its table hosts and hostesses) "sneaked" from campus unannounced. Or on April First when upturned chairs and plates were found glued to tables. Or an occasion when fifteen or so senior men marched up from the dining hall, bearing serving dishes of an infamous college hash, with the announced intent of burying for good that staple weekend leftovers conglomeration.

One is impressed by the range of student extracurricular involvement during these years, and within each club or society the depth of student responsibility taken for its success. Only at the end of the Yoder years was the idea launched for student personnel services as we think of them today. It was the friendly YPCA representative who greeted the freshman stepping off the train, carried his bag, and directed his way to campus. It was a very busy academic dean and the unofficially supportive upperclass-

man who guided a new student in class choices and future planning. Students planned and executed their own entertainment before rushing into place to enjoy it. One marvels at the dedication required of individual literary societies within a small student body to organize, decorate, and serenade their banquets before eating them, too. But one also glimpses in the loving (student) reporting of these activities how a thoroughgoing investment in an activity usually resulted in a great dividend of enjoyment and firmer friendship among participants.

Of course, developing self-sufficiency and enterprise were two important features of the literary society agenda. There were no passive recipients here, only active collaborators. The weekly meetings were "work—a kind of training," a cultural finishing school.⁹⁰ The societies' regular meetings and public occasions served as molders of abilities and confidence, but also as sanctioned outlets for bursting talent and high spirits.

A madcap mock trial conducted by the Aurora literary society in December 1932 featured a defendant, Paton Yoder, accused of having poisoned a cat belonging to the Vesperian Society. Roy Umble led the defense, but a red "lie detector," blazing every time a witness told an untruth, "wrought havoc with the statements of his witnesses" (*Record*, January 1933). These half-improvised happenings combined discipline and leadership from behind the scenes with wit and exuberance poured out before the public. Without any organized modern equivalent in campus life, one might point to such quasi-impromptu revues as those kicking off the school year, or to coffee houses, Carnival, and Hour After performances, as the distant echoes of literary society life.

Since few students had the means or the transportation, individuals seldom undertook elaborate evenings out or holiday excursions. The few such ventures students might have had between 1924 and 1940 were generally woven into the fabric of college life: a group of Ohioans treated to dinner in an Ohio professor's home, for example, or Der Deutsche Verein, the German Club, culminating their fall term with a festive *Weihnachtsabend* (with the ubiquitous H.S. Bender posing as Kris Kringle).

Faculty and students' contentment in staying close to home for their culture can also be understood when one realizes the quality of speakers and performers coming to them from the outside world. By the end of Yoder's presidency, the Lecture Course tradition, maintained under Professor Willard Smith's guidance, glowed with the luster brought to Assembly Hall by poets Lew Sarett, Louis Untermeyer, and Vachel Lindsay; the way was opened for the steady march of world-class speakers and musicians who would visit the out-of-the way Goshen in the heyday of what became known as the annual Lecture-Music Series.

From the start in 1924, enthusiasm for choral singing returned—even if the reviewer of the choral activity provided in the 1925 *Maple Leaf* felt

under constraint to add, "In all of these choruses the singing has been a cappella." But if the new choral director, B.F. Hartzler, no longer strummed a guitar accompaniment as he had in his Old Goshen days, or taught the rakish glee club songs that had bothered college critics then, he did bring a bit of the spirit of debonair charm that had characterized musical events in those earlier days. There was vicarious entertainment just in following the fortunes of these groups. The 1927 Easter spring tour of the black bow-tied men's chorus to Chicago—and Illinois points beyond—gathered to itself the kind of prestige and instant tradition witnessed fifty years later, as units departed into the unknown for the earliest Study-Service Trimesters: the bleary-eyed student body turned out in the early morning hours to see off the men's blue chartered bus, then tuned into the chorus's twenty-minute live broadcast over Chicago radio station WLS, and received them home as heroes a week later. From the road, chorus member Milton Smith sent regular telegrams to Dean Oyer, tersely keeping him informed of, among other things, the condition of lovesick chorus members.⁹¹

Local color, in flora and fauna, also satisfied students' need for recreation in a way hard to appreciate fully today. Roy Umble recalled telling inquiring Goshen students in the early 1990s that when looking for fun, students of his day (the mid-1930s) walked to the dam; the current students fell into incredulous laughter, gasping, "Did you hear that? For fun they *walked to the dam*!" It is necessary to remind ourselves how undeveloped the land south and west of the campus was in 1924 and for years following. The landscape is not too difficult to envision, if one extrapolates from the groves of today's Witmer's Woods, or the forested and swampy paths preserved around the dam. It seems that students during the S.C. Yoder years—most of them rural children to begin with—took to heart as wilderness extensions of their campus the wooded land ("Shoup's Woods") between Gra-Roy Drive and State Road 15, the millrace paths, the thickets along Plymouth Avenue, and the area encircling the Elkhart River, including College Point across the river on its west bank.⁹² Two accounts of literary society forays into these neighboring retreats are worth quoting because they capture the joy students took from the natural world, and convey something of the ineffable atmosphere of such events. On October 5, 1931, the Avons hiked from the campus along the millrace to a wooded spot on the bank, where they made a campfire, roasted wieners, and conducted an impromptu program as the sun set. Avon member LaVerne Yoder (Hostetler), daughter of President Yoder, supplied the campus a sketch of the outing:

It was dark before we replenished the fire and gathered around it for our program. Valeria Barnard read Bliss Carmen's "Vagabond Song" as an introduction. . . . Autumn moods, Autumn at home, Indian Summer, and the spell of the camp-fire provided subject

matter for each Avon to talk about. Remember the "Katy-did" that called from a tree close by? And how the sun sent its last rays through the trees to reflect itself in the water. . . . Autumn with its beautiful days! Nature! (*Record*, November 1931).

Eight autumns later, the Aurora men's society treated the Avons to a hike and picnic in the rain along the Elkhart River—wieners on this occasion supplemented by scalloped potatoes and pickles. After eating, an anonymous Aurora reporter recorded,

everyone gathered around the fire for the main feature of the evening—news flashes by Orville [sic] Shoemaker, who seemed quite well informed regarding other people's affairs. A minor feature was an impromptu vocal solo by Dwight Stoltzfus, who was supposedly leading group singing. After disposing of "The Old Mill Stream" the Avon and Aurora songs were sung. Mr. [Charles] Ainlay made a few coy suggestions about an Aurora never going home without an Avon at his side, and the group straggled back through a rain that must have considerably brightened the agricultural outlook (*Record*, October 24, 1939).

Goshen social life between 1924 and 1940 was buoyed by happy spirits. The activities were fun, and funny: how else to describe a dramatized legal proceeding given to the disappearance of some senior men's pumpkin pies? (*Record*, December 1926), or the dining hall's metal water pitcher someone had inscribed with the mock Latin "Mu Pie Eta"?⁹³

Of course, at the extreme end of a self-possessed, locally-satisfied community, dedicated to moderation and balance for the sake of peaceable living, can lurk blandness and provincialism. The 1925 *Maple Leaf*, for instance, included in its pages a local student's profile of the town of Goshen whose concluding lines asserted that "its most striking and distinguishing feature [is that] in Goshen there are no negroes, very few foreigners, and very little poverty. . . . The city is beautiful, its streets lined with attractive homes and splendid trees. . . ." ⁹⁴ But if blandness and provincialism did appear at times at the reconstituted Goshen, they did not overtake its continuing traditions or new vision. In a period one might have expected to be religiously insular, the student body welcomed and formed easy, mutually satisfying friendships with non-Mennonite students, especially those from the Elkhart County area. Pastors from a variety of local non-Mennonite churches spoke on campus occasions. The twenty-year legacy of a respectable liberal arts curriculum; the yeast of new emphases like Mennonite history and peace that united the interests of college and church; the curves thrown the college's very survival by the Great Depression; even the piquancy added to campus life by the dozen or so children of alumni missionaries (who on *Maple Leaf* photography spreads devoted to home states were casu-

ally lined up next to the "Illinois" and "Indiana" throngs and given the home state labels "India" and "South America")—these, among other factors, kept Goshen College from falling into fully austere Classicism, fundamentalist complacency, or cultural isolation. The word and restorative principle was balance; Goshen under S.C. Yoder stayed on an even keel.

In attempting to summarize this story of Goshen College's restoration, perseverance, and triumph through years that might just as well have been its undoing, one key to understanding the period might be called providential chemistry, the same mysterious force that had enabled an old Elkhart Institute to become a new Goshen College in 1903: the strength of individual personalities, collaborating in community, to bind up an institution dislodged from its former traditions.

In terms of campus chemistry, one must acknowledge that what amounted to an almost complete parting of the ways between the new college administration and the former faculty—however unresolved, unjust, or unhappy one considers that to be—did clear the way for greater solidarity of purpose and a morale buoyed by future dreams rather than mired in festering regrets. Observers have noted among a generation of faculty in place by the end of Yoder's years as president, a common trait of temperance, of independent-mindedness, that can in the Iowans be harmlessly attributed to some heritage of their soil, but might more accurately have to do with Amish Mennonite affinities they shared with others in the group. In building this particular college, the youth and relative inexperience of the company as a whole, rather than proving a liability, turned out to lend a certain steady optimism and plain honesty to the character of the faculty. In intellectual and scholastic matters, a young but supercharged force for progress like Harold Bender was able to lead the advance in academic areas till by 1940 the college was poised on the brink of North Central Association accreditation. In the direst times, there were the astonishing personal sacrifices made and accepted by faculty and their families, borne out of an ethos of college loyalty and Christian service. Mixed in with faculty efforts were those of eager, enthusiastic students, who were less interested in the fine points of the college's recent travails than they were in the Aurora motto, "Forward!" Finally, there was the irenic force of spirit projected by President Yoder, complemented by the man's craft in the realm of human psychology (Chemistry professor Glen Miller called it fox-like), who stood as the unifying presence at the center of this activity.

The college's health in 1940 reflected not only the heroic efforts of its faculty servants, but the fortuity of historical developments in the Mennonite Church. Like it or not, even the most conservative Mennonites were becoming accustomed to educated Mennonitism. In (some) of their ministers, their Sunday school teachers and lesson writers, their missionaries, and their own children, the church was feeling the effects of a greater Ameri-

can pursuit of education and of the relatively new Mennonite-directed education from the inside out. With this came the gradual relaxation of the conservative grip on change and opportunities for service within the fellowship; the fury of the denunciations of modernism from the mid-1920s through the 1930s appear more as a final efflorescence rather than the true height of conservative influence. Viewed in this light, the closing of Goshen represented a true crisis for church unity, but it also provided—tragically at the expense of many valuable potential leaders—a year's hiatus from the academics' and ecclesiastics' mutual provocation that made it possible for the renewed college to get on with its business. Replacing the old church guard of the previous generation were younger progressives of an orthodox and conciliatory stripe, men such as Paul Erb and Orie Miller, who were effectively promoting new programs, channels, and methods for conducting church life.

In June 1940, the faculty gathered around banquet tables to honor their outgoing president, Sanford Yoder, who more than a year before had expressed to the Board of Education his desire to retire. The party's banquet hall was the undeniably pedestrian cellar dining room of a thirty-four-year-old dormitory, but its demeanor had been transformed through the loving care of banquet organizers working behind the scene. The faculty carried with them to this meal the venerable (and for Mennonites, anomalous) tradition of banquet toasts that had been practiced since 1906 when Kulp Hall was first put to use.

One recognizes in this evening's gathering a turning point. Times were changing. Science and technology were showering Americans with their products: life-saving vaccines and medications; newsreels that transported Hitler's displays into small town theaters; the voices of "Amos and Andy," "Jack Armstrong," and Jack Benny; advanced war machinery and a shrinking globe. On that very evening, in fact, the faculty presented President and Mrs. Yoder with "a camera outfit." Mennonites were being assisted in their responses to this flood of innovation by the striking thinkers of Goshen College. In less than a year, Goshen students would celebrate the NCA accreditation, waving banners along a town street which read: "A progressive college/A progressive community!" and "Watch us grow!" The college at this juncture was ready for a new leader, someone with a lifetime in education, a cosmopolitan perspective, a public flair.

On this occasion, however, the faculty toasted the present Goshen College. Its president of sixteen years, Sanford Yoder, had simply saved the day, through patience, balance, and love. Goshen had not remained closed in 1924. It had survived the Great Depression. By 1940, half the faculty had earned doctoral degrees. President Yoder himself, the holder of a high school diploma upon being elected to his office, would shortly complete a doctorate in sacred theology at Gordon School of Theology in Boston. In a

fine ecumenical moment two years earlier, Charles Ainlay, an outstanding, Methodist member of the Class of 1941, had carried off first prize for Goshen College in the National Peace Oratorical Contest. If, between 1924 and 1940, Goshen College had often known the "uses of adversity," its president's faith, strength, and wisdom had also helped to reveal their sweetness.



Chapter Six

WATCH US GROW

MARCHING TOWARD MODERNITY 1940-1954

*Think not my life is small
Because you see a puny place;
I have my books; I have my dreams;
A thousand souls have left for me
Enchantment that transcends
Both time and place. . . .*
— Edgar Frank, "Goshen"

On Thursday night, March 27, 1941, a crowd of banner-waving Goshen College students noisily hailed a new era. Late that afternoon, President Ernest E. Miller had telegraphed from Chicago that North Central Association (NCA) representatives, with whom he had held meetings for three days, had granted accreditation to Goshen College.

Goshen College's acceptance into the NCA marked the successful culmination of a period of careful applications, campus inspections, and reviews. Accreditation would mean full acceptance by other universities of credits earned at Goshen College, better employment prospects for graduates, and the college's curricular enrichment through faculty participation in Association programs. Accreditation raised Goshen College's general status as an educational institution, while also requiring a crucial commitment to maintaining high standards.

Goshen College that March afternoon had met a significant institutional goal. Perhaps more remarkable than the institutional achievement, however, was the euphoria its news unleashed on campus. As a student observer recorded, "A mere scrap of yellow paper turned Goshen College students

from a well-disciplined student body to a mob of temporary Bedlamites" (*Record*, April 4, 1941). Even the dignified Dean of Women Miss Viola Good, a redoubtable champion of campus decorum, was credited with declaring that "Something must just be done to celebrate" Goshen's achievement.

Interpreted by students, Good's sentiment found expression in a celebration unprecedented in Goshen College history. Spurred on by the leadership of senior class president Charles Ainlay, the student body conspired to grant a hero's welcome to the unsuspecting President Miller, by then en route by train to Goshen from Chicago. "For some reason," Ainlay recalled, "it came to students' attention that NCA accreditation was an historic event."¹ As a student reporter picked up the story, "A strange-looking assemblage complete with streamers, banners contrived of bedspreads and window-blind sticks or what have you, a broom torch, [and] purple hair ribbons. . . piled into cars and headed down town" to await Miller and Dean Harold S. Bender at the corner of Main and Pike Streets. Members of a hastily formed brass band carried their musical instruments. It was 10:45 p.m. When at last the car approached from the train station, "the German band burst into the College song. . . and the procession moved on, accompanied by yelling, tooting of horns, and spasmodic song upheavals." People left their homes to investigate the noise and view the spectacle. *The Goshen News Democrat* reported that students "lighted bonfires and staged snake dances" when Miller and Bender reached campus.² "Goshen receives accreditation and at once they start dancing on the campus," some amazed local Mennonites commented on the snake dancing.³

More students, demonstrating in front of Kulp Hall, met the madcap parade as it entered the front campus drive. Banners proclaimed "Watch us grow!" and "Culture for Service!" One enthusiastic girl, a non-Mennonite local student, waved a sign boasting, "Four hundred living alumni!"⁴ After a spirited session around the bonfire, the crowd adjourned to the Kulp basement dining hall. Ainlay stood on a table, made a speech, and stirred further enthusiasm. President Miller then addressed the jubilant students, and "coffee and doughnuts finished off a red-letter day for most of the residents of Kulp Hall and provided stimulation for the further activities of a large part of Coffman Hall."⁵ By the next morning, of course, the students' congratulatory frolic was as big a story as the news of accreditation itself.⁶

No other impromptu campus celebration has matched in boisterous high spirits the student demonstration of March 27, 1941. Curiously, the times hardly suggested jubilation. War in Europe and the Pacific dominated the news. Stories on international politics reported the trampling of human rights and liberties. Student columnists Charles Ainlay and Robert Hartzler commented on grave world events "From Our Side of the Ocean," as their weekly title announced.⁷ The United States draft had been instituted the previous fall. Local men from the Goshen community were being

called into the military. Many Goshen College students began heading into Civilian Public Service, an alternative to military service sponsored by the Mennonite Church; other students would join the armed forces. Events in the foreign theater—the “Emergency,” as Americans referred to the war—affected even small town American life. Yet the announcement of Goshen College’s accreditation, a milestone one might expect administrators to toast quietly among themselves, led high-spirited students to take over their campus, and part of Goshen’s town center, in celebration. Why did President Miller’s “scrap of yellow paper” touch off a carnival when times were so grim?

One answer might be that in 1941, Goshen College’s own times did suggest jubilation. Despite the clouds of oppression shadowing world affairs, Goshen College in 1941 had reason to celebrate freedom. Events of the previous twenty years had called into question the likelihood of Goshen College’s very survival, let alone the considerable status conferred by NCA membership. In the aftermath of Goshen’s closing and reopening in 1923-1924, a burden of restraint, diplomacy, and circumspect academic progress had fallen to President S.C. Yoder, his faculty, and the students, some of them exceptionally mature, who elected to chance the “new” Goshen College in the unpredictable early years of its reorganization. It was a time when Goshen College, of necessity, “cultivated its own garden,” to apply the concluding phrase from Voltaire’s *Candide*. Heroic efforts by Yoder and his colleagues to build on Goshen’s strengths, while interpreting its program in ways acceptable to the church, carried the institution through sixteen crucial years that in 1940 culminated in the inauguration of President Ernest E. Miller. With the beginning of Ernest Miller’s presidency, it seemed as if the Yoder administration, by paying its dues of caution and economy, had purchased liberty on behalf of the college’s next dispensation.

Meanwhile, the Mennonite Church was being steadily transformed from within by its educated leaders. Something like a third wave of young college graduates had now entered the employ of church institutions, and the church, sometimes in spite of itself, was depending more freely on the capable services of its graduates. Educated spouses of Goshen faculty, if not teaching at the college themselves, might be found taking charge of a congregation’s educational program.⁸ Spared for various reasons the pressure felt by other talented Goshen College peers to leave (Old) Mennonite Church institutions during the conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s, yet acquainted with the period’s sorrows, these educated workers illustrated not simply the compatibility of higher education with church service, but the advantages culture could bring to that service. Through patience, courtesy, and an indispensable training in how to take a broad perspective, the educated generation that remained in the official Mennonite Church was making possible a friendlier mutual regard between the church and its cen-

tral college. It would have been hard by 1941 at Goshen College, for example, to imagine Dean H.S. Bender scurrying agitatedly from his desk to Business Manager C.L. Graber's, announcing "What does he want?!" at the first sight from his window of a particularly critical bishop strolling through the college's front gate—a routine the two actually played out, not without slapstick effect, in the early 1930s.⁹

The beginning of Ernest Miller's administration at Goshen College, in fact, more or less coincided with a transitional moment in broader American Mennonite history. Because so many tokens of positive change converged around the year 1944, Guy Hersherberger, Leonard Gross, and other historians have described it as a wondrous, "watershed" year for Mennonites. As 1944 approached, the current of the times was moving away from a roughly forty-year-long "doctrinal era" in the Mennonite Church, characterized by an official crusade for theological correctness, to a period of historical recovery and vision, whose leaders were prepared to take intellectual freedom—though not necessarily its potentially liberalistic conclusions—in stride.¹⁰ Hersherberger singled out as particularly significant the occasion of a special session of the Mennonite General Conference held at Goshen College in August 1944, in which spontaneous admonitory words spoken by S.C. Yoder helped to restore a spirit of fellowship. Hersherberger recounted that the "season of prayer" prompted by Yoder's statement significantly dispelled pent-up tensions within the church on issues such as biblical interpretation, nonresistance, and nonconformity.¹¹

The acceptance of Goshen College into the NCA in the spring of 1941, then, became an occasion to celebrate victory in a broader struggle through a difficult period. In addition to meeting church conflicts with equanimity, the college had also survived the Great Depression, a sequence of years that were punishing, but not debilitating, to college faculty and programs. Goshen's post-closing period of noble survival was giving way to one of thriving advancement—an "era of expansion," to borrow John Umble's term. On the night of March 27, 1941, the shouted slogans, "song upheavals," and impromptu address delivered over doughnuts by the usually proper President Miller must have sounded like one loud, collective exhalation. By the 1951 Goshen College commencement exercises, the invited speaker, President Bernhard Christensen of Augsburg College and Theological Seminary, cited *Candide's* praise of withdrawal, "We must cultivate our own gardens," as an unacceptably narrow philosophy. Having urged on the seniors "a world-wide outlook," Christensen ended his speech by declaring alternatively, "We must cultivate the Gardens of God!"¹²

World War II insisted that the Mennonite Church confront world realities. The Mennonite Church was better prepared in 1940 to accommodate its conscientious objectors than it had been in 1917. In contrast to Goshen College men drafted during the World War I, Mennonite students called

into the Army in the 1940s had open to them a clear alternative to military participation, Civilian Public Service (CPS). Throughout the wartime period, Goshen College had a great deal more official contact with drafted students called away from campus than had been the case in World War I. Involving for the most part conscientious objectors from the historic peace churches, the CPS program reflected anticipation of the need for military alternatives which were begun by the peace churches years before a new U.S. draft became a reality. In this, H.P. Krehbiel, pastor and editor, had taken the initiative at a Conference of Historic Peace Churches held in 1935 at Newton, Kansas.

Other efforts contributed to defining a peaceful but constructive alternative to military service in the event of a draft. The Mennonite Church had given special attention in the later 1920s and 1930s to the issue through its Peace Problems Committee. Goshen faculty Guy F. Hershberger, H.S. Bender, and Edward Yoder participated officially and unofficially in its work, and along with other contributors explicated Anabaptist peace teaching in articles for the Goshen College-based historical journal, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. When war broke out in Europe, Bender and Hershberger joined other peace church delegates in lobbying the U.S. government for an alternative service option, and then in negotiating the details of CPS. Those sessions resulted in November 1940 in the government's agreement to cooperate with the CPS plan.

World War II and the CPS program contributed to freer association between Goshen College and Mennonites beyond the (Old) Mennonite group. The Mennonite Church establishment had handled these contacts more gingerly in the period between the wars, when the issue of a common response to conscription among all the Mennonites of America could be overshadowed by that of the comparative degrees of liberalism found among the Mennonite colleges. In August 1942, however, President Miller organized a meeting of college presidents from the various Mennonite branches to discuss their students' alternative service obligations. In 1945, the organization became known as the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges. Fostered by the vision of Ernest Miller, this inter-Mennonite group extended its cooperative energy to provide educational resources to men in the camps, to develop a Relief Training School held on Goshen's campus in the summer of 1943, and to sponsor a variety of projects in international education, whose later forms pointed the way toward Goshen College's international Study-Service Trimester (SST) launched in 1968. Miller had responded to the war's immediate demands in a way that generated productive, broadening relationships through the decades.

Ernest Miller's 1940 selection as president by the Board of Education in itself had suggested greater freedom at Goshen College. The board's choice of Miller signaled continuity with the Old Goshen more explicitly

than would have been politic in 1924. By serving in the India mission field from 1921 to 1937, Ernest and Ruth Blosser Miller, both 1917 Goshen graduates, had put physical, and to some extent ideological, distance between themselves and the turmoil of the 1920s and 1930s. Yet the foreign mission enterprise, in part because of its location outside the regular purview of the church's mission supervisors in America, had excited criticisms from home church during the years the Millers served in India. Miller himself, while in the States on furlough, had once met with the Lancaster Conference bishops who arrived at the meeting "armed with fifty-one questions" for him.¹³ The majority of their Mennonite mission associates in India had shared Ernest and Ruth Miller's affiliation with the Goshen College of the Byers and Hartzler administrations.¹⁴ Mission philosophies among other Protestant groups in India had mostly reflected American turn-of-the-century evangelical progressivism, not the strain of dogmatic fundamentalism mingled during the 1930s into some U.S. Mennonite affairs. Though Miller was ordained to the ministry, in his professional work and advanced study he had chosen to focus on the areas of education and psychology. At the Dhamtari mission, he had administered a boys' academy modeled on the British educational system where from time to time English school inspectors came to call. Ernest and Ruth Miller's professional and spiritual outlook had been imprinted by the confluence in their home territory of expatriate missionaries, native Indian villagers, and a Victorian British Raj still in colonial ascendancy. They absorbed the customs and crosscurrents of their mixed cultural setting. Miller's 1929 master's thesis at New York University treated schools founded by the reformer Mahatma Gandhi. One instructor Miller employed at the Dhamtari academy was a Hindu Brahman.¹⁵

In addition to his international perspective, President Miller would bring to Goshen the unofficial counsel of his elder brother, the businessman and entrepreneur of Mennonite programs, Orie O. Miller, Goshen College Class of 1915. In 1919, Orie Miller had volunteered for pioneering Mennonite postwar relief work in Syria and Armenia.¹⁶ In 1920, when the church was called upon for relief workers to be assigned to Russia, Miller again agreed to go, assisting in the formation on July 21, 1920, of a unifying agency, the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), designed to coordinate the services of Mennonite volunteers.¹⁷ Since 1935, Orie Miller had served as executive secretary of MCC. From his first involvement on the Board of Education in 1922, Miller had exerted judicious influence in tempering church and college stridency and in nurturing the financial health of Goshen College. Orie Miller's efforts in the post-closing period had opened the way for a more expansive pursuit of institutional goals in the 1940s. Now the college would benefit from Orie Miller's continued services as the Mennonite Board of Education's financial agent. The arrival of Ernest Miller in the president's

office, followed by the NCA acceptance, augured optimistically for increased freedom, harmony, and progress.

Ironically, however, World War II imposed awkward disruptions of straightforward progress throughout Goshen College's "era of expansion." The 1940 *Maple Leaf* seemed to anticipate the cosmopolitan decade to come. Its endpapers were made to resemble maps, with the front endpapers depicting masses of people flocking toward Goshen (emblemized as a spot marked "Culture for Service"), and the back endpapers showing hordes of men and women scattering from that spot to all corners of the world. The legend "Culture for Service" painted on the front wall of Assembly Hall, originally rendered inside a delicate frame of ribbon motifs, by the early 1940s had been replaced by an image of the bold, black words of the motto circling the globe.

The draft drained from campus the greater part of the male population, as well as some female students and spouses who volunteered to participate in the CPS effort. The first CPS camp opened in Patapsco State Forest, Maryland, on May 15, 1941, seven weeks after the accreditation revelry in front of Kulp Hall. Faculty members began to volunteer for relief work abroad, which took some of them away from their posts for years. Key college figures like Harold S. Bender, Guy Hershberger, C.L. Graber, and President Miller himself, happened also to be the leaders called upon by church agencies to formulate the Mennonite response to the war on many fronts; their energies had to be given both at the college and elsewhere. There were the wartime deprivations and shortages that affected most American families and institutions. And finally, there were spiritual-theological "interruptions," worrying questions posed on campus and to the wider Mennonite fellowship about the essential, faithful response of the church to war. If the benefits of these interruptions were not obvious at the time, the war's various diversions of institutional momentum ultimately led Goshen College to greater maturity. In the long run, CPS and international relief work, the predominant responses made to the war by Goshen College people, paradoxically enriched the campus by taking people away from it.

The story of Civilian Public Service in World War II constitutes a drama in itself. It has figured importantly enough in Mennonite Church life to merit its own historical treatments.¹⁸ The program placed conscripted men to labor in civilian-operated conservation camps, national forests, state hospitals, and other work settings across the United States, the idea being that conscientious objectors might contribute positive service to the nation without participating in its military endeavor. The work varied widely. According to historian Albert N. Keim, CPS participants "built roads, fought forest fires, constructed dams, planted trees, built contour strips on farms, served as guinea pigs for medical and scientific research, built sanitary facilities for hookworm-ridden communities and cared for the mentally ill and juvenile

delinquents.”¹⁹ The men lived together in camps or units, frequently located near communities whose residents were less than enamored with the idea of conscientious objection.

At Goshen College, the summons of students to Civilian Public Service wreaked havoc with the continuity of college life. But the traffic of students between Goshen College studies and CPS assignments created for the campus community a kind of unbidden, but enriching, extension program. The young man (and young woman, on occasion) who was compelled to combine study at Goshen with alternative service was given the unusual opportunity to test the cultural and theological theory available at Goshen College against the experiential practice held out by CPS. Enrolled in CPS's practical education program, he might find himself immersed in murky Maryland ditches, or placed in charge of neglected mental wards crowded with actual “Bedlamites” (the term that had been used so lightly by the *Record* reporter to refer to Goshen's own March 1941 revelers) or, disorienting in its own way, placed in enforced barracks cohabitation with strangers drawn from the Amish, a cross section of Mennonite groups, and even Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterians. For some CPSers, the practical curriculum in conscientious objection included unsettling encounters with the angry relatives of men who served their country in uniform. Summarizing its qualities, Melvin Gingerich wrote of the program that CPS

gave thousands of young men the opportunity to witness to their religious convictions not only by the act of going into CPS but also by the way in which they lived together and in the quality of work which they did. . . . As there were no traditions or patterns to follow, much experimentation was possible. It widened their knowledge of Mennonitism, it brought about a re-examination of their peace position, it taught them new skills and introduced them to new areas and environments, it taught them and their elders that young people could be trusted to carry responsibility, and it aroused their interest in new areas of service, particularly in mental hospitals and in public health work as well as in conservation.²⁰

On the whole, CPS educated its participants in ways impossible within the confines of a campus. In this respect, the alternative service program, like the international tours eventually sponsored by the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges, can be said to have alerted Goshen's administrators to the potential benefits of alternative study; these benefits were again harvested thirty years later, as Goshen's first SST units got underway.

Civilian Public Service tested the mettle of Goshen College draftees, and strengthened that of the college when the veterans returned to

campus. John Umble, whose position in the mid-1940s on the faculty and as Alumni Association president allowed close observation of the phenomenon, wrote about the return of CPS participants to Goshen College life in terms reflecting extraordinary esteem:

Probably at no time in the history of the institution did Goshen College have so many students who understood the reason for their loyalty to the Mennonite Church and who had committed themselves to so thoroughgoing an acceptance of her principles. Most of them lent tone, dignity, and strength to the extracurricular phases of campus life.²¹

Civilian Public Service touched Goshen College life in areas beyond the experience of individual participants. The leadership positions in the Young People's Christian Association (YPCA) and other campus organizations, occupied during the war years primarily by male students exempt from the draft—theology or seminary students, premedical students, or men classified as physically exempt—often went after the war to returned draftees with a background in CPS, post-war relief work, or both. The predominantly female student body remaining on campus during the war were apprised of the experiences of CPS friends or sweethearts through correspondence or through visits to CPS sites.²²

Relief work in war-shattered European locations put Goshen College personnel within closer range of the actual struggle between war and peace. Following World War I, Mennonite conscientious objectors and reconstruction volunteers, most of them with Goshen College connections, had conducted direct post-war service on location in Europe, Russia, and the Near East. Mennonite leaders who helped to conceptualize alternative assignments for World War II conscientious objectors, Near East relief veteran Ernest Miller included, had hoped that these men might perform their service in war-torn locations abroad—not in the trenches, but sacrificially near them.

In preparation for such an assignment, one Relief Training School did take place, from June 12 to August 15, 1943. Ernest Miller directed it. Along with instructors drawn from Goshen's faculty, the school also employed an inter-Mennonite teaching roster, including Presidents E.G. Kaufman and Peter E. Schellenberg of Bethel and Tabor Colleges, and Professor Edna Ramseyer of Bluffton College. Male and female students came to Goshen from CPS camps (at least a few of the fellows were Old Order Amish), and from the range of Mennonite colleges: Bethel, Bluffton, Goshen, Hesston, Eastern Mennonite, Tabor, and Messiah Bible. Here, clearly, was broadly inter-Mennonite fraternizing, almost certainly unthinkable on the same campus ten years earlier, hastened in 1943 by wartime exigencies and by the good will and diplomacy of the school's director and participating staff and

students. Portrayed in a photograph in the 1944 *Maple Leaf*, the Relief Training School group appears a harmonious, high-spirited bunch; students remember the school that way.²³ In the course of the pilot Relief Training School in the summer of 1943, however, the affiliated Mennonite colleges and their keen prospective relief workers were disappointed to learn that an Act of Congress passed on July 1 would prohibit conscientious objectors from serving outside of the United States. But the government would not prohibit women, or men above draft age, from doing so. Soon a number of Goshen faculty were leaving campus to volunteer for Mennonite Central Committee wartime relief.

The example of faculty relief work as relayed back to campus—a testimony of close cultural observation, spiritual maturation, and, in some cases, genuine peril—inspired students and alumni to interrupt college for similar service following the war. In the fall of 1941, a twenty-six-year-old French professor, Lois Gunden, left Goshen College to assist in a refugee children's home at Canet-Plage near Marseille, in unoccupied France. In published letters addressed to "Dear *Record* family" and in correspondence with Le Cercle Français, the campus French club, Gunden reported regularly on her experiences, which included shielding Spanish refugee children from German deportation. Following the German occupation of southern France in November 1942, Gunden and other MCC personnel relocated their operations to Lyon and continued work. Shortly thereafter, however, Gunden was taken by German security forces and interned with other expatriates for over a year in the small German town of Baden-Baden. Gunden's letters to Goshen stopped.²⁴

In the meantime, however, other Goshen-affiliated volunteers continued to pass through campus with firsthand reports of relief work. Philosophy instructor M.C. Lehman, the former India missionary, in June 1942 gave an inside view of his three years' work with Polish relief from his base in Berlin; Lehman, too, had spent five months as a German internee. In December 1943, professors Willard and Verna Smith embarked for South America, where Willard served as MCC commissioner for Eastern European refugee resettlement in Paraguay. For two years, the Smiths supplied extensive reports to the campus via the *Record*. In February 1944, word came that Lois Gunden had been released from internment and was on the way back to teaching French at Goshen. That same month, Professor of Chemistry Glen Miller sailed for England to do relief service.

After the war ended, the campus continued to learn of relief opportunities and experience. The college dietitian, Christine Weaver, set off for service in China in May 1947. Early in 1949, alumnus J. Lawrence Burkholder addressed a College Church vespers service on his wartime assignment flying food, clothing, and other supplies into China, then serving there at war's end as an administrator with agencies of the Church World

Service and the United Nations. Burkholder began teaching Bible and philosophy courses at Goshen the same year. Eventually, even President Miller followed the trend toward relief service abroad. He was called upon to spend his sabbatical year, 1950-1951, in India, serving as MCC commissioner for the Far East.²⁵

At the close of the war, a number of students also volunteered for relief work abroad, in some cases extending time spent away from Goshen in earlier CPS assignments. By the time European relief service claimed their attention, a few Goshen College couples who had met during their fleeting mutual time on campus, then courted at a distance and at length during CPS, forewent a traditional home church ceremony for nuptials conducted in France or Germany among fellow expatriates and curious, well-wishing European acquaintances. No matter how unconventional the circumstances, there was undeniable adventure and romance in the couples' long-distance preparations for their Continental reunions and marriages.²⁶ A wedding in Hamburg or Alsace, followed by European housekeeping, could not have been exactly the life pattern John Oyer and Carol Schertz, Arthur Smucker and Oma Hershberger, or the relief workers who married Europeans, had anticipated upon entering Goshen College as freshmen. Yet paths beginning at Goshen College were leading them far away from Goshen, Indiana.

Goshen student or alumni experience abroad in MCC relief work, carried out "in the name of Christ," afforded a romantic setting but also a challenge to a serious assignment. The idea motivating the CPS program had been to establish alternative service as a "moral equivalent of war."²⁷ But the U.S. government's thwarting of the original design to send CPSers into situations of genuine wartime risk had limited their action to American or Puerto Rican forests, swamps, or hospitals. For post-war relief workers, however, the issue of a Christian's proper response to war, contemplated against a decimated European landscape, by necessity lost some of its state-side vagueness. As had been the case in Europe among the Reconstruction workers following 1918, young Mennonites in the United States who had opposed the war on theoretical grounds now directly encountered war's sufferers, and witnessed their blasted countryside. At the same time, the assuredness of nonresistance as an absolute position came in for testing as well, since the relief workers encountered moral, Christian Europeans whose convictions had compelled them to take up arms in the war. Furthermore, at least one relief worker, John Oyer, testified that Anabaptist verities had returned to him in France and Germany which had been clouded by the American Mennonite legalism ascendant in his childhood. For Oyer, the surprising potency of practical New Testament love, modestly offered but hungrily accepted among spiritually devastated war victims, enlivened the rote faith of his youth and enriched his subsequent adult pilgrimage. Hearing Germans commend Mennonite service in their country as exemplary

of true Christianity, Oyer "felt a strange uplift of spirit: this despised religion of my ancestors, now visited upon and grudgingly accepted by me, had some strange vitality. . . . Our MCC units . . . quarreled over petty issues and were overly concerned with status. Yet some people found Christ through us."²⁸

Among contemporary Mennonites, the evangelical advantages of voluntary, active service over abstract, rhetorical testimony have assumed the familiarity of a commonplace. But in the late 1940s, the thrust toward Christian witness by concrete example, rather than by rhetorical precept alone, carried the excitement of fresh discovery. Such a view challenged the conventions of Mennonite mission, whose official priority, at least, remained bringing souls to Christ through the transactional methods of Protestant evangelism. The post-war relief experience in the late 1940s and early 1950s, similar in this way as well to its precedent in European reconstruction work, could give its participants a reinvigorated, bracing ideology with one hand while taking away fond formerly-held idealism with the other.

In 1951, Samuel A. Yoder, a member of the Goshen English Department faculty since 1946, published *Middle-East Sojourn*, a matter-of-factly moving, often very humorous, personal account of work in an Egyptian refugee camp at El Shatt. In going to the Middle East, S.A. Yoder, a 1928 graduate of Goshen College, had left behind for two years his young family and a professorship in English at Wheaton College. For Yoder, Wheaton was an appreciated Christian teaching environment which had nonetheless after Pearl Harbor become intolerably pro-war. With Wheaton friends "leaving home at great sacrifice to hazard their lives in what they considered a just cause," Yoder recorded, he felt compelled to "do something to show [his] colors" as a conscientious objector.²⁹ Peter J. Dyck, a Canadian veteran of wartime relief work who had attended Goshen College in 1949, introduced *Middle-East Sojourn*. Dyck affirmed Yoder's claim that "in relief work one must aim high and accomplish what one can" as "sobering but very much to the point." Yoder had written that "relief work is slightly organized chaos," and to this Dyck also gave assent. Firsthand experience with chaos, of course, either drove an idealistic worker to profound frustration or tempered his expectations of theoretical formulas. Dyck digressed from introducing Yoder's narrative to assert the need in a chaotic post-war world for "demonstrating that which the church has preached during the past decades, a need for living Christianity instead of merely preaching it."

Through the course of Miller's presidency, the college attracted dedicated new members to its faculty who believed strongly in Goshen College and expected to make lifelong careers there; most did. According to John Umble, between 1940 and 1954 all but six of the college's twenty-three assistant professors had been hired during President Miller's time in office.³⁰ Headquartered at a global crossroads in momentous times, Goshen faculty

of the 1940s and early 1950s provided students an ideological basis for so much bustling service "in the name of Christ." Given the cosmopolitan awareness of the post-war faculty, the words "A thousand souls have left for me / Enchantment that transcends / Both time and place. . .," from the poem called "Goshen" found fresh resonance.³¹ Quite a number of Miller's faculty recruits were alumni of the 1930s or 1940s. They, and more often than not their spouses, rejoined one another on campus as friends, or at least as acquaintances sharing a Goshen bond. But since the faculty brought in after the war typically had interrupted their education or their careers to do CPS, MCC work, or some other sort of voluntary service, they brought back to the college a broader range of vision than what they had possessed as students. They were a group socialized to think of service, church, and education as fundamentally interrelated.³²

Two Goshen faculty members released important publications in the spring of 1944. Harold S. Bender's essay, "The Anabaptist Vision," and Guy F. Hershberger's book, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*, became landmark texts. They distilled essential Anabaptist-Mennonite principles with scholarly authority and disseminated them throughout and beyond the Mennonite fellowship.³³ Though the fundamental tenets of historical Anabaptism had been presented on campus since 1924, and had been available in fragmentary form before then, they received their fullest exposure and illumination at Goshen College following these publications in 1944. Nonresistant love, brotherhood, and discipleship, these authors maintained, were biblical and historical foundations on which the church might stand to view the present and future. Of course, for years before publishing their groundbreaking syntheses the two authors had prepared for them in research, Mennonite Historical Society work, and, to a significant extent, in their Goshen classrooms. The lessons on war, Christian nonresistance, and the sacrificial testimonies and values taken from Anabaptist history made for a rich, sometimes life-changing scholastic diet for young people observing a world at war and, in some cases, deliberating over practical decisions regarding the draft or a line of work.

Supplementing the very public work at this moment of Bender and Hershberger were the more recently-arrived Bible and religion professors J.C. Wenger and Paul Mininger, and later arrivals John Mosemann Jr., and historian Melvin Gingerich. Even departments less automatically associated with theology or Anabaptist studies, such as elementary teacher education or, after 1950, the school of nursing, through professors like Mary N. Royer and Orpah Mosemann reflected facets of the college's concentration in these years on the ideal of faithful peacemaking.

In 1946, the Board of Education authorized Goshen's Bible School to become the Goshen College Biblical Seminary, thus establishing the first (Old) Mennonite seminary. This was a culmination of the steady growth in

quality of program and students nurtured since the early 1930s by H.S. Bender and his Bible faculty associates. Given the choice between the two positions at a meeting of the Board of Education in 1944, Bender elected to vacate the college deanship in order to fill the newly-created position of Dean of the Bible School, where he remained until his death in 1962. With Bender's shift to the Bible School, Carl Kreider, an extremely capable young Goshen alumnus with a Princeton doctorate in economics who had joined the faculty in 1940, became the college's academic dean, a post he would hold for close to thirty years. The longstanding leadership given by Deans Bender and Kreider allowed for solid advances in their respective schools, and an ongoing fruitful interchange between them. The seminary, whose classrooms and faculty offices continued to share campus buildings with Goshen College, benefited the college with its graduate curriculum, students, and faculty.³⁴ It also contributed, as it gathered tradition to itself in the ensuing years, to what some would see as a consolidation of Mennonite theology and ministry around certain formidable conservative (but not strictly Fundamentalist) ideas, individuals, and institutions. In any case, in its measured, orthodox approach and reliably conservative instructors, the Goshen Biblical Seminary of the mid-1940s helped to garner for the college greater stature in the eyes of the Mennonite Church—an ironic historical twist, given the official church's great fears, a generation before, that Goshen's progressive liberal arts college would spawn a seminary.³⁵

For all the campus flux, and their own busy coming and going, the faculty in these years lent to campus life stability and intellectual coherence. Some students matriculated at Goshen aware that they would choose their course professors from among a solidly impressive range of leading Mennonite thinkers; others discovered the mastery of Goshen's faculty after a sequence of required courses, say literature, Bible, and history, had put them through several weeks' sessions with Paul Erb, J.C. Wenger, and H.S. Bender, to name a few of the numerous outstanding teachers. The NCA evaluators of the college had cited its faculty as a major strength. These professors and others commanded their classes with enthusiasm, erudition, and wit.

Faculty folklore, a body of legend merrily tended by students at least since the institution's move to Goshen, continued to accrue. The faculty contributed to the cycle simply by being themselves. Many of the stories from the 1940s persist in numerous variants today. When Harold Bender in a Church History class lecture talked about limbo one, limbo two, purgatory, and hell, student Stanley Shenk interrupted him to inquire, "Brother Bender, according to the Roman Catholic concept of eternal punishment that was held in the Middle Ages, where would I as a Protestant go? To limbo one or limbo two?" Bender reportedly looked at him, grinned, and said, "You go to hell!"—to the class's erupting laughter.³⁶ Former President Sanford C. Yoder, a well-loved professor of Bible, treated at least one

of his classes to a fervently nostalgic reverie on his long-abandoned habit of tobacco use, indulged more than forty years earlier during cowboy days on the Washington plains. Returning from his reverie to the present, Yoder assured students his smoking days were past. But when traveling in a train compartment, the tall bishop of the College Mennonite Church sighed wistfully, "I still enjoy the smell of a good cigar."³⁷ Willard Smith invariably enlivened his American history lectures with a respectable baritone rendition of "Home on the Range." Professor of English John Umble, beloved advisor to scores of Goshen College debaters, managed to keep his team members alert while chauffeuring them to tournaments. As conversation in Umble's car grew more lively, so grew the likelihood that its driver would turn to face his passengers instead of the road.³⁸

Professor of Education Silas Hertzler, by the 1940s one of Goshen's most senior faculty, scrupulously avoided inflating grades to the point that students seldom expected a letter grade above the average. Students responded by dubbing his twin children "C plus" and "C minus."³⁹ It was rumored that John Umble gave better grades to young ladies if they came from West Liberty, Ohio, his own native ground.⁴⁰ Of course, a student's disappointment in a grade could give rise to all manner of legends. Disgruntled students of the 1940s insisted that several Goshen professors scattered batches of class themes down the stairs in order to establish their grading scales.⁴¹

If Goshen's faculty between 1940 and 1954 supplied students with stability and coherence, they provided these qualities among themselves, as well. Despite, or perhaps because of, their growing numbers, the faculty during this period deepened its traditional self-understanding as one big, happy college family. Since virtually the entire faculty body were members of the College Mennonite Church, with the exception of faculty members carrying out that congregation's extension work at North Goshen, East Goshen, or Locust Grove, Sunday and workaday identifications merged more naturally among the Goshen faculty family than might have been expected in other college settings. A parallel might be drawn—up to a point—between the nearly seamless integration of a faculty family's home, church, social, and professional life, and the comprehensive community life experienced among workers inhabiting mission settlements. Indeed, in the tradition of Elkhart Institute and Goshen College personnel before them, a good number of Goshen faculty in the 1940s and 1950s thought of themselves in an understated way as missionaries; they, their immediate family, and the families of their colleagues were committed to a common cause. On occasion, the staff included a faculty member's own extended family, as in the case of S.G. Winey, father of business instructor Lois Winey, who in his later years arrived from Colorado to serve as groundsman in the college physical plant. Siddle Oyer, widow of Dean Noah Oyer, retired in 1952

after twenty years as matron of Coffman Hall—service to the college loyally performed after Dean Oyer's untimely death in 1931 made her the family provider. Sacrificially low salaries for professors and staff members certainly invited the comparison to missionary service.

In any case, the families of Goshen's faculty together cultivated simple satisfactions, and practiced mutual assistance. It was not unusual for senior faculty couples to extend special friendship to newcomers. The case of Robert Friedmann, as he himself recounted the story in 1970, provides an opportunity for observing a 1940s Goshen College welcome typical of the best college hospitality through the century. Friedmann, an ethnic Jewish Austrian scholar who fled Vienna for London during the war, landed in Goshen thanks to the efforts of Yale University's Professor Roland Bainton to find Friedmann an academic placement. Harold Bender had met only fleetingly with Friedmann in New Haven, but had read a Friedmann manuscript on Anabaptist history. In his indefatigable way, Bender arranged with the city of Goshen's ministerial alliance for the itinerant Friedmann to receive funding (sixty dollars a month) for a year's work cataloging the Mennonite Historical Library, which in the summer of 1940 was a huge, unfurnished room heaped with books in the new Memorial Library's basement. He and his wife Susi, an accomplished pianist, would reside at the college's expense in the decidedly historic North Hall apartments. Save Friedmann's hurried introduction to Harold Bender in Connecticut, they knew no one in Goshen.

The Friedmanns arrived by train one night in early July 1940 around 10:30. As Friedmann recalled, at the railway station "there were no less than ten people. . . . Of course we had no idea of what Goshen is. It was for us really the backwoods area and no one has ever heard of Goshen . . . a really provincial place of nowhere." Harold Bender took the Friedmanns to their North Hall dwelling, where

the refrigerator was full with food, which we had never seen in our life. It was filled to the brim with—everything was delicious. There were jams and marmalades and—I don't know—butter and everything. Eggs and . . . cake and everything under the sun. Ice cream. It was fantastic. We couldn't believe our eyes. So we began our sojourn in Goshen. Free apartment and \$60 a month.

By 1945, when he departed for employment at Western Michigan College at Kalamazoo, Goshen students had grown accustomed to the sight of Robert Friedmann, working in his anteroom office of the Historical Library, often remaining there quite late into the evening. One night, locked out of his home after one o'clock, he pushed the books aside and slept on the library table.⁴²

By today's standards, the young faculty couples of the period tended to have largish families—four children, or thereabouts. A reassuring communitarian spirit prevailed the week round, whether in handing down children's clothing, entertaining each other's children, or borrowing a faculty neighbor's car, the better to reach the hospital in time to deliver the children. Carl Kreider recalled that the purchase of his first car, a 1936 Chevrolet costing \$250, was possible only through a bank loan for the amount, whose note Business Manager C.L. Graber agreed to cosign.⁴³ Simply put, faculty families enjoyed "community in the best sense; not dripping with sentimentality," but supportive and genuine.⁴⁴

President Miller seemed especially attuned to the importance of such a community spirit. At the risk of oversimplification, Miller theologically might be said to have stressed the centrality and beauty of grace above an exactitude of doctrinal protocol. That position reflected, among other influences, the J.E. Hartzler-era Goshen College he had attended, and probably the emphases of missionaries he met in the field. Miller frequently began public prayers by intoning, "Dear Heavenly Father, Our finite minds cannot comprehend the depths of thy love for us"—impressive, comforting words at least one student listened for whenever the president took the podium.⁴⁵ His public addresses were succinct. Miller displayed ease and dignity in his public role; he had been academy headmaster in a territory of the British Empire, after all. In his social manner, he was courteous, almost suave at times. His wry, disarming sense of humor allowed him to appreciate a good story, and revealed itself in one slightly-upturned corner of the mouth. In the wake of the previous decade's ecclesiastical sobriety, Miller's capacity to enjoy a joke struck many as refreshing, and probably unsettled a few as well.⁴⁶

While there is no way to gauge completely the extent to which Miller's international experience influenced his presidency, its centrality was undeniable. He had spent virtually all of his adult career overseas, and thus, with the exception of the one-year term of George Lapp, Miller was the first Goshen administrator whose term was preceded by significant residence abroad. Early on, Miller had channeled the convictions born of that experience into such projects as the Relief Workers Training School. During his fourteen years as president, an impressive roster of speakers visited campus, reflecting the wide international and Protestant mission acquaintances Miller had made in India.

The fullest and farthest-reaching expression of Miller's cross-cultural interests came soon after the war when, with the approval of the Board of Education, Miller initiated a trip to Europe in the summer of 1946 with Bethel College's President E.G. Kaufman to recruit foreign students to attend Mennonite colleges. The earliest groups of foreign students at Goshen aroused on campus a great deal of interest, and responded, in turn, with

maturity, good humor, and style. Some carried away so deep an appreciation of Goshen College that later they sent their children there. That first summer trip opened the way for an unbroken procession of international students who continue to enlarge the dimensions of Goshen's campus. In 1947, the summer following the arrival on campus of the first foreign students, Goshen participated with the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges in a ten-week European travel-study tour; a version of the early tours exists today in the Goshen-in-Europe program. For many years, Dean of Women Viola Good assisted Ernest Miller, and subsequent presidents, in recruiting, welcoming, and mentoring international students. Looking back at Goshen's international student program in 1977, Good identified cross-cultural mutuality of interest as one key to the program's success. Good reflected that the international student program had aimed to create at Goshen "a cosmopolitan atmosphere. . .," whose successful cultivation "can broaden the American horizon and enrich the American educational experience as well as the education can benefit the student from abroad." She went on to observe the likelihood that Goshen's SST program had grown in part from "the realization of this educational possibility" (*Record*, December 3, 1977). It would appear that in 1940, Ernest Miller entered Goshen's presidency already grasping that educational key.

As president, Miller addressed himself to personnel issues affecting faculty and staff more formally and explicitly than his predecessors had done. This vigorous approach came at least in part from Miller's training in human psychology, his assignments in Goshen personnel development before becoming president, and the fact that a growing faculty simply needed more deliberate attention. A number of faculty women, Olive Wyse, Mary Royer, Lois Winey, Alta Schrock, and Lois Gunden among them, have testified to Miller's enthusiastic encouragement of their graduate study, an interest in professional advancement unusual for the times. Women faculty recalled the climate in which they worked among male faculty in the 1940s as one of courtesy, gallantry, and mutual respect in which, at least as it appeared to a number of female faculty, human identity took precedence of consideration before gender.⁴⁷

Ruth Miller was an understanding companion to Ernest Miller throughout his presidency.⁴⁸ From 1944 to 1950, she served as president of the Mennonite Women's Missionary and Sewing Circle Organization (today's Women's Missionary and Service Commission). She also graciously hosted many social occasions that refined into elegance the modest entertaining budget at her disposal; her tastes in cuisine, dress, and so forth had been widened by experiences abroad. Similar gifts of hospitality were observed in the partners of the two deans, Elizabeth Bender and Evelyn Kreider, women known for adding their own cultivated conversation to tasteful coffees or dinners.

Other faculty caught the spirit of civilized delight. Professor Olive Wyse supervised Faculty Teas, afternoon respites from the classroom and office devoted to restorative baked goods and stimulating fellowship. Take as another arbitrary example the whimsical Old English summons to an evening social sent by Chairman S.A. Yoder to members of the Division of Language, Literature, and Fine Arts. "*Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*," Yoder's invitation proclaimed,

To all who in Musique bear the bell, To all who profess the Arts of Rhetorique and Poetique. . . Or give due respect unto Les Belles Lettres, *Be It Known That There Will Be* (Come wind! Come weather!): A solemn assembly on Wednesday next. . . to be held at Ye Olde Coffee House of Mr. and Mrs. Yoder (alias SAY & EOY, alias Sam and Ethel)—at the signe of ye olde Logge! . . . Members of Division I—and husbondes and wives, *Come One! Come All!*

Notably revealed here, in addition to the charm of S.A. Yoder, was the far-from-frivolous program this group planned to tackle over coffee and dessert. A panel would discuss "The Humanities in a Christian College," highlighting such questions as: What function do they serve? and How can we encourage participation in the culture of our age and still remain separatists?⁴⁹ Faculty social events, if full of sweetness and light, were seldom lightweight.

Perhaps President Miller's most fortuitous contribution to all-around faculty development was his institution of an annual Faculty Retreat held at Little Eden Camp near Onekama, Michigan, just prior to the start of classes in September.⁵⁰ Faculty Retreat at Little Eden contained the basic elements of Sam and Ethel Yoder's warm Division I gathering described above, but writ slightly larger (faculty children attended) and longer (it lasted for three days). Little Eden added to the usual social climate enjoyed among the faculty the pleasure of a temporary long-distance removal from Goshen, Indiana. For one long weekend, enormous sand dunes, prickly Lake Michigan beaches, and piney northern air replaced the campus's Indiana surroundings. For the adults, there were carefully prepared study sessions in which faculty and faculty spouses heard papers by their peers, and took up for discussion questions pertaining to education and faith. There were devotions and worship and spirited singing led by Walter Yoder. President Miller typically addressed the group in a manner to inspire a vigorous return to the college's program in the school year ahead. The company then adjourned to acquaint themselves with a photograph display, posted in the main camp building, of the year's incoming students.

And there were the ineffable Little Eden blessings of relaxed fellowship that seemed part of the character of the place. Little Eden meant shuffleboard, a keenly competitive pastime in the hands of team partners Ernest and Ruth Miller, Guy and Clara Hershberger, I.E. and Gladys

Burkhart, and C.L. and Mina Graber. The atmosphere of Faculty Retreat was "Great God, the Giver of All Good"—the College Grace—sung before meals; the College Song in evening programs; and the aroma of coffee lingering around the camp's comfortably ramshackle dining hall. Families shared quarters in rustic cabins named Linger Longer, Dew Drop Inn, and Idlewild. Children were free, in ways unheard of at home, to run in a pack and keep late hours. Children's activities at Little Eden—from racing pop bottles in the camp's little streams, to stitching moccasins and coin purses, to playing pick-up softball games, to licking ice cream cones long past their bedtimes—assured the faculty offspring that somehow they belonged together. After three days, everyone drove away from Faculty Retreat in Onekama toward school in Goshen, feeling that, perhaps at Little Eden, they had glimpsed "the colony of heaven," a New Testament theme Guy Hershberger often spoke about.

Concerted faculty spirit also attended the effort at Goshen between 1945 and 1951 to survey the religious welfare of the entire institution. In the course of that endeavor, the faculty hammered out in 1949 a "Concept of the Philosophy of Christian Education of Goshen College," which appeared annually in the college catalogue. The statement's central tenets claimed, echoing Bender's 1943 "Anabaptist Vision," that "the essence of Christianity, as set forth in the scriptures, is discipleship," and that, since the Christian life "cannot be segmented into secular and non-secular compartments," every activity "has spiritual significance."⁵¹ Here one recognizes a Goshen vision of Christian education fostered among Bender, Hershberger, Umble, Winey, Wyse, and the rest in the previous decade and a half, the period of Goshen's reorganization. In its Christian universality it was a view consistent with at least aspects of John S. Coffman's "Spirit of Progress" vision of Mennonite education. The 1949 faculty statement, on the other hand, contrasted some of the thinking of the Byers period, whose faculty might have considered culture for its inherent aesthetic or intellectual content alone.

The gaiety of the 1941 NCA celebrations notwithstanding, the campus did not abandon order, propriety, and restraint by welcoming the greater freedom in the Miller era. A student's year could be predictably measured by the annual rituals of literary solicitations, senior sneak, work day, literary programs, and spring banquet. Though faculty and students enjoyed warm friendship, it would have been unthinkable for a student to address faculty members by their first names: it was always "Dr. Smith," "President Yoder," and so forth.⁵² Campus bells signaled the beginning and end of classes, though some professors as well as students chafed at that discipline. The wearing of ankle socks by women was officially confined to the dormitory. Indiscreet hand-holding on campus might land a couple in the president's office, albeit for little more than a benign avuncular admonishment, as Miller conducted such sessions.

Once in a while, it is true, irregular amusements broke out. Apples loaded with firecrackers flew out of chem lab windows, for instance, or Auroras and Adelphians roved around Goshen playing the intense, go-for-broke version of hide-and-seek known as The Manhunt. But for the most part, even the riotous moments retained some ritual formality. "Fountain parties," now mostly confined to the occasion of a male student's engagement, involved most of the student body and followed a prescribed pattern: the few student automobiles available would be parked on the campus drive with their headlights illuminating the fountain; student women would cluster on Kulp balconies as the hapless fellow's intended looked on apprehensively; and the victim would then be carried to the basin and publicly immersed. It was said that at one 1946 mass dunking presided over by students (and later professors) Norman Kraus and Robert Buschert, Kraus preached a sermon to rival any of his career (*Record*, December 8, 1978).

So for all the emphasis on frontiers far away, the Goshen campus remained vital. One lively area of growth from a faculty point of view continued to be the college curriculum. The crucial NCA accreditation, for example, climaxed and at the same time set in motion important curricular developments which were to influence Goshen academic life for decades to come. Noah Oyer, dean from 1924 to 1931, had in the first year of reopening insisted that the college offer upper-level courses—even if given to a mere handful of upperclassmen—to preserve its four-year, liberal arts identity. In 1928, Oyer had led the faculty to endorse educational standards consistent with NCA requirements. Following Oyer's death in 1931, the new dean, Harold Bender, worked aggressively toward the goal of accreditation. A Survey Commission of faculty and administrators appointed as early as 1934, and then its subcommittees, studied and recommended adjustments to be made in many areas of the college's program, including improvement in the school's annual income and attention to faculty graduate study. These were busy years. In 1938, Bender proposed an important curricular change that, when accepted by the faculty, indicated their commitment to general education rather than specialization. Goshen's discrete academic departments were to be organized into five divisions; the new arrangement allowed the college to devise cross-divisional survey courses to be taken in the freshmen and sophomore years. In its efforts to emulate innovative general education models such as those pioneered by Columbia University and the University of Chicago, Goshen by the late 1930s led other midwestern colleges. The celebrated accreditation of 1941 reflected a concerted, cooperative pull toward an ambitious goal by Goshen personnel going all the way back to 1924. It also rested, in some degree, on a sturdy academic foundation laid over the thirty years prior to the 1923 closing.⁵³

Admission to the NCA yielded a new bounty of challenges and opportunities enjoyed through the 1940s and beyond. Around 1941, the NCA's

Commission on Research and Service formed a subcommittee called "The Preparation of Teachers of Liberal Arts" (later "The Committee on Liberal Arts"). The Commission selected Goshen, accredited for less than one year, to participate in the study along with twenty-seven other schools. Goshen College, which had toiled patiently and with somewhat modest expectations to achieve accreditation, suddenly gained access to a stimulating fraternity of colleges primed to exchange and implement new ideas.

Goshen's appointment to that select group led to a long and fruitful association by college faculty representatives, especially Dean Carl Kreider, with the Commission's workshops on higher education held during the summer at the University of Minnesota. This program for liberal arts colleges also required its participating schools to form faculty subcommittees to tackle questions of teaching and curriculum throughout the year, and to host an NCA representative on campus to coordinate developments among the participating schools. By 1946, Kreider had been invited to serve on the Minnesota workshop staff, and for several years following he directed the workshop. He was chosen as one of three visiting coordinators, which put him in contact with the campuses of twelve to fifteen other member colleges. Eventually, Kreider chaired the NCA Committee on Liberal Arts and edited the committee newsletter. In these experiences, Kreider was helping put Goshen on a prestigious map of American liberal arts training. He was also carrying back to his Goshen associates an infectious, visionary outlook on curricular reform. Fostered in colleagues by the astute, genial Dean Kreider throughout the 1940s and 1950s, that flexible outlook was still evident in 1968, when the faculty gave enthusiastic approval to an experiential-international study proposal which, from any conventional educational perspective, must have appeared at least a bit farfetched.⁵⁴

Despite the busy traffic by draftees and professors during the cosmopolitan 1940s, social interaction remained mainly within the campus gates. Economic forces confined people there, for one thing. Though the Depression had ended, Goshen students were hardly flush with cash. Those students headed to Goshen from the same community might cram themselves and their year's luggage—one tidy suitcase per person, maximum—into a single automobile. The ride to college could easily be their last automotive transportation for the term; some student drivers even left their cars on blocks above the mud behind Coffman Hall from the fall to the spring.⁵⁵ Student entertainment off campus continued to demand ingenuity and long-range planning; a couple might plot for months simply to get to a South Bend opera.⁵⁶

As student personnel director immediately before assuming the presidency, Ernest Miller had addressed a need for students' social amenities by trying an experiment—a combined snack shop and bookstore—begun in 1939 with a \$200 stake from Orie Miller. In 1941, a recent graduate, Nelson

Springer, became the first non-student manager of both, a post he commanded for six years before entering seminary and eventually his profession as Mennonite archivist and curator of the Mennonite Historical Library. In the snack shop-bookstore, manager and unofficial postmaster Springer ("Sprinkle" to his customers) dispensed grilled sandwiches, cold soda pop, ice cream, three-cent stamps, and candy bars (at a nickel apiece, no minor expenditure in student economy at the time). The place became one of the campus's main points of social intersection; if its entertainments seem mild, keep in mind that in the days before a snack shop, the most accessible co-ed gathering place was the library reading room, and the only sweets on campus were at best obtained from a student selling chocolate bars from a dormitory room. The snack shop was a place to unload romantic news noisily among one's clique, to paw through the lost-and-found, or to confide to the good-natured Sprinkle the contents of a long-awaited piece of mail. And students were not the only snack shop patrons. The Misses Good and Winey were observed to be regular Coke drinkers there in 1941.⁵⁷

Into the 1940s there was a continuation of the 1930s phenomenon to give a great deal of talent and time to local, campus-based projects. In 1943 and 1944, successive issues of the *Maple Leaf*, products of the editorial and design talents of Mary K. Oyer, Areta Graber, Meryl Grasse, and Ruth Carper, in addition to documenting two years' college life, displayed a familiarity with the art of the book in their hopsack bindings, tipped-in prints of Pennsylvania Dutch fraktur, and charcoal-sketch illustrations. In the *Record*, on the other hand, a serial, quasi-society column called "Over the Dam" was so cryptically allusive of the college's inner life that it must have puzzled outside readers no end; naturally, "Over the Dam" commanded an avid audience among campus readers.

The post-World War II period brought new change to Goshen College. Much of it reflected Miller's ability to take leadership in anticipating such change. The Union Building, completed early in 1950, represented a major milestone for Goshen College which, like membership in the NCA, signified the college's arrival among established, and growing, American institutions. With assistance from Carl Kreider, President Miller spearheaded the cooperative, countywide planning process that resulted in the establishment of Goshen College's School of Nursing. Acting Dean and head of teacher education Karl Massanari led the college's successful application, in early 1954, for accreditation by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). Late in his presidency, Miller also promoted technological growth, such as creating in the basement of the Administration Building the college's first audiovisual room, and, in 1948, installing on campus a fully-automatic dial telephone system, allowing campus users to phone one another and off campus without ringing the central switchboard. True, the system served only three or four campus telephones,

strategically installed in the administrative offices, in the women's dormitory, Kulp Hall, and in the men's, Coffman Hall. But if the technological triumphs of the late 1940s seem quaint in the information age, observe that in 1937, only eleven years before Miller brought in the new telephone system, Professor Edward Yoder had noted his momentous six dollar purchase of a Shaeffer's fountain pen, a supplement to his 1926 Parker: it had formerly been impossible for Mrs. Yoder to write letters at home when Edward was on campus with their single "family pen."⁵⁸

Some of the changes at the college occurred through forces beyond the institution's control. A tremendous rise in enrollment followed the war years. In the 1940-1941 school year, full- and part-time enrollment combined was 365. In 1953-1954, the final year of Miller's presidency, that enrollment was 825.⁵⁹ Campus planning for hiring, curriculum, and accommodations had to reflect that rise, or lose pace. In the summer of 1946 the college erected, as a temporary solution to the inrushing tide of male students needing housing, a "quadrangle" south of Coffman Hall—two aluminum shells known universally as The Barracks that provided room for little more than sleeping "in tiers," as the *Maple Leaf* punned. One of the final events of President Miller's term of service was the dedication in June 1954 of Westlawn, a new women's dormitory north of Kulp Hall.

Shifts in staffing and administration after 1950 affected the institution as well. The rearrangements meant that between 1950 and 1954, Goshen's administrative offices were filled with motion, with heroic stamina, and, not surprisingly, at times with stress. As noted above, President and Mrs. Miller spent their 1950-1951 sabbatical leave in India; Dean Kreider filled the vacant presidency. Then, early in 1952, Carl Kreider with his family began an extended leave to Tokyo, Japan, where he had accepted an invitation to serve as the first dean of the college of liberal arts of the new International Christian University. Karl Massanari served ably as acting dean. Meanwhile, the demands of the presidency, added to other pressures, required Ernest Miller for the sake of his health to share responsibilities at the start of the 1952-1953 school year with a team of assistants: Massanari, Dean of Men Atlee Beechy, Business Manager Leland Bachman, and Controller Ralph Gunden. The sudden necessity in the fall of 1952 of filling administrative posts with faculty who were also committed to teaching, counseling, or management assignments, combined with the faculty's lack of hard information about decisions being faced by the board and some indecision within the board itself about when best to convey authority to President Miller's successor, all contributed, no doubt, to a more cumbersome, drawn-out selection than anyone would have liked of Goshen College's next president: Bible and Religion Professor Paul Mininger. But as he prepared to enter office in the fall of 1954, Mininger discovered appreciatively the support and good will the Goshen faculty showed its administration.⁶⁰

Throughout President Miller's years, Goshen College celebrated a number of anniversaries. There was the fifty-year milestone of the formation of the Elkhart Institute Association and its Prairie Street building (1945), marked with a commemorative booklet; the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute's move to Goshen (1953), and of the dedication of the Administration Building (1954). The year 1954 marked as well sixty years since the 1894 opening of the Elkhart Institute. John S. Umble's history, *Goshen College, 1894-1954*, the first full-length treatment of Goshen's history, covered the sixty years.⁶¹ An exceedingly sprightly, unsigned historical review in the final pages of the 1951 *Maple Leaf* commemorated "50 Years with the Alumni Association."⁶²

For the most part, however, Ernest E. Miller's administration looked toward the future. So much about Miller himself suggested forward-looking vision. He possessed a progressive outlook similar to that of his professors and peers of the Old Goshen College. For much of his career, he had engaged in missionary education: work doubly futuristic, when one considers the personal advancement assumed to result from education, and the forward thrust of effective evangelism. International mission among Miller's Protestant associates before World War II still breathed the confident possibility of mass world evangelism and the "overcoming" power of personal consecration. That Ernest and Ruth Miller took the long view was evident even in their later years, when, both over eighty years old, the pair audited Goshen classes in biology, cultural anthropology, and Christian faith, explaining that they liked staying in touch with students because "it keeps us alive and awake."⁶³ Many of Miller's colleagues and students have testified that his greatest strength as president was his world-scale view, his ability to envision far-off possibilities not yet apparent to those around him. And that forward-looking vision by no means ruled out an appreciation for the past, since President Miller with his faculty enthusiastically observed the college's numerous anniversaries occurring between 1940 and 1954, offering reminiscences and tributes and expressing gratitude for historical foundations. Indeed, an influential segment of college and seminary faculty had devoted itself during Miller's presidency to the richest recovery yet of the Anabaptist-Mennonite past.

But movement and change dominated the fourteen-year span of Miller's administration. In 1941, the *Maple Leaf*, sponsored by Dean Harold S. Bender, had featured medieval-looking page borders incorporating lines from Scripture; a decade later the 1951 volume, sponsored by English professor S.A. Yoder, contained elliptical line drawings and quotations from Carl Sandburg's poetry. Indeed, from the moment in spring 1941 when uproarious students, inspired by their college's academic accreditation, "snake-danced" down Main Street announcing "Watch us grow!", Goshen College had set out again toward modernity.



Chapter Seven

COMING OF AGE

THE DEMANDS OF SOCIETY AND THE LORDSHIP OF CHRIST 1954-1970

Suddenly I began to think about the Race Problem, Red China, Religion, Communism, the Population Explosion, MediCare, Crime and Punishment, and Morals. . . . [and] realized how little I was and how my head hurt to think about the Race Problem, Red China, Religion, Communism, the Population Explosion, MediCare, Crime and Punishment, and Morals.

— Ron Hurst, *Record*, April 17, 1964

Shall we [Mennonites] go on and take a responsible position in society, or completely withdraw and become a sect in the stricter sense of the word? At present we fluctuate between the two. Can we do this with clear conscience and a sense of purpose?"

The urgency given these questions by Professor J. Lawrence Burkholder as he spoke before the Peace Society on October 24, 1955, must have startled his student listeners (*Record*, October 28, 1955). Few students at Goshen College in 1955 were aware that they, or their school's sponsoring church, were "fluctuating." Their own main mouthpiece, the bimonthly *Record* editorial page, was more likely in 1955 to exhort students to park their cars in legal campus spaces, or enter chapel quietly, than to examine existential dilemmas in the Mennonite Church. Just the previous January, in fact, *Record* editor Tom Diener had published a comment made to him about the high level of student contentment: "This school year is a strange one; it's so

difficult to find serious problems facing students” (January 21, 1955). The rich sufficiency of academic and social activity found at post-war Goshen College, augmented by a fuller provision of student personnel services as instituted by President Ernest Miller, had relieved students of some of their earlier joint responsibility for the institution, and allowed for a pleasant, energetic period of relatively internal focus. As some students of the early 1950s have reflected quite thankfully, their generation undertook to do full justice to college life, not to solve the world’s problems.

Yet students in the fall of 1955 heard Burkholder insist that his were serious questions. They lead, he told them, to such issues as troubled consciences and compromise. They force us to examine the relation of the two kingdoms, and the nature of power to nonresistance. How, Burkholder wanted to know, will we answer these questions?

While the ambiguity implied by Burkholder’s description of a “fluctuating” church struck many in his audience as new and strange, the problems of world, church, and campus had not gone completely unnoticed at Goshen College in the early 1950s. “We Americans, in the face of a needy world, occupy a gigantic forty-eight-state ‘ivory tower,’” John J. Fisher Jr., a recent addition to the English faculty, had mused the previous spring in a series of faculty chapels on the theme of isolation. “When,” he asked rhetorically, “does peace of mind become the quietude of an ‘ivory tower’?” (*Record*, March 5, 1954).

Whatever peace of mind the Goshen campus did enjoy in the early part of the decade was being occasionally interrupted by certain new voices in the Mennonite Church. A thinker like J. Lawrence Burkholder, for example, challenged any confident notions of Mennonite exemption from the political realm when he wondered whether modern Mennonitism could meet modern suffering without some kind of accommodation to modern political reality. The very development of social relief agencies by the church over the previous thirty years indicated that the denomination, at least in the form of its volunteers on the ground, had for some time confronted the dilemma of using institutional structures to relieve suffering without compromising Mennonite separatism.¹

In 1952, meanwhile, several young Mennonite intellectuals with European university, missionary, or MCC relief experience had begun to call into question how completely the contemporary church had realized the vision of its sixteenth century forebears. The original participants in the group which was to become known as the *Concern* movement were Irvin Horst, John W. Miller, Paul Peachey, Calvin Redekop, David Shank, Orley Swartzendruber, and John Howard Yoder, individuals from diverse parts of the Mennonite Church whose student experience at Goshen College, particularly their exposure to Harold S. Bender’s teaching on the “Anabaptist Vision,” served as their point of intersection.² Two of the participants, John

W. Miller and John Howard Yoder, served on Goshen's Seminary faculty.

A publication of this loosely-organized group, an occasional pamphlet entitled *Concern*, applied a stringent, sectarian Anabaptist critique to the towers of Mennonite institutional life. The insistent, and often negative, evaluation of denominational structures registered in the pages of *Concern* was by turns stimulating and painful to those inside the academy, particularly the Goshen Biblical Seminary, where many of the denomination's key writers and church leaders had made their careers. The group reacted against what they saw as an excess of hierarchical, denomination-wide organizations that had proliferated in the Mennonite Church over the previous century, when Anabaptist history revealed a church born among scattered groups of mostly lay people, persecuted as ecclesiastical radicals. The *Concern* writers also drew on their familiarity with post-World War II attempts at Protestant theological reconstruction to raise fundamental questions about Anabaptist-Mennonite theology. Like the disagreements centered at Goshen College in the years 1909-1919 and the 1920s, the *Concern* dialogue with established Mennonite Church leaders reflected generational tensions. Lawrence Burkholder wrote that Bender and the first generation of Anabaptist scholars

claimed that, despite obvious shortcomings, American Mennonitism maintained continuity with the original vision while *Concern* saw discontinuity, compromise, social accommodation, materialism, institutional rigidities, apathy, and excessive and manipulative power by a few well-known leaders.³

In an intriguing inversion of that earlier conflict of the 1920s, however, now the youthful *Concern* challengers of the 1950s charged their ecclesiastically-loyal elders—installed with the church's blessing at the formerly distrusted Goshen College—with having relaxed on fundamental church principles.

Viewed from the point of view of certain Goshen faculty and administrators, the *Concern* movement's demands for radical reform could seem contradictory and disloyal. Only ten years earlier, the Goshen-based reinterpretation of Anabaptist history had achieved a new expression and acceptance in the church, implicitly overtaking the American Fundamentalist-influenced thinking that had dominated through the 1930s. Some Goshen figures, Bender prominently among them, whose work as premier builders of the church institutions now came in for critical examination, were the same dynamic mentors who had fired these scholars' devotion to Anabaptism in the first place. Though Goshen College and Biblical Seminary had been at the center of the church's recovery of Anabaptist thought, these institutions now found themselves anew under unflattering scrutiny in light of the *Concern* group's passionate expositions of ideals such as community of goods, lay leadership, and authentic spirituality.

The peace of a satisfied, busy campus in northern Indiana could also be disturbed in the mid-1950s by international political news. The presence of atomic weapons in the hands of contesting world powers cast a shadow of uncertainty, if not latent horror, over what were substantially care-free American times. Following an H-bomb test in 1954 by the Atomic Energy Commission, *Record* editor Virgil Vogt had borrowed a *Newsweek* headline to ask, "Where Now, World?" The struggle to prevent history itself from ending in 1954, Vogt reminded the campus, "is becoming more real and perplexing to people every day. We have the answer, don't we? And what are we doing about it?" (*Record*, April 2, 1954). Mennonites were also aware of the unsettling evidence of international communist aggression, amplified by the gathering American political and media attention to the subject.

On the evening of his talk to the Peace Society, Burkholder too had applied the question, "Where now?", but in this case to the world of the Mennonite Church. And it would have been a question to pose to Goshen College itself. For all the apparent celebration of the way things were—senior faculty seasoned with thirty or more years of service, daily chapel shared in the paneled confines of Assembly Hall, the annual fund raising Work Day with its can-do gusto and impressive totals, the College Grace sung before each dining hall meal—the institution was entering an extended period of transition, in which new and old would jostle about rather noisily.

By the mid-1950s, for instance, Goshen's literary societies, once bastions of extracurricular social and creative life, were slowly losing student enthusiasm, their continuation up for debate. The Young People's Christian Association (YPCA), stalwart religious counterpart to the literaries, was likewise losing wholehearted student participation. The Diener editorial of January 1955, after commenting on the student body's supposed trouble-free psyche, had in fact suggested something different. Diener offered evidence of quiet frustration on campus, pointing for starters to the problem of spiritual needs going unmet, and to the administration's tendency to encourage, then thwart, student autonomy in areas like publishing and student government. As further evidence of change in the spring of 1955, even a campus landmark as inviolable in Goshen's identity as the Adelphean fountain risked demolition and replacement, its rusty surfaces deemed "disfiguring" and its basin losing chunks of concrete (*Record*, May 29, 1955).

So change and troublesome questions, if peripheral, were not unthinkable to the students and faculty gathered at Peace Society meeting to hear Professor Burkholder. They discussed the questions with interest following his talk; an enthusiastic student reporter to the *Record* pronounced the evening "stimulating." With the serendipity typical of Goshen's extracurricular events, the session prepared members for the next month's speaker, the French villager André Trocmé, whose wartime experience helping Jew-

ish refugees escape the Holocaust had, like Burkholder's own work with refugees in China, illustrated concretely some of the complexities of Christian social responsibility.

Yet no one anticipated the period of rich and occasionally dramatic discovery lying ahead for the college. For all the hints of pending change and of ideological struggle circling the periphery of campus in 1955, surely none of Burkholder's October listeners realized how renewed in significance the question of Mennonite social engagement, and its perennial Goshen corollary—Christianity's relationship to the liberal arts—would become during the term of service of President Paul Mininger, installed in office one year earlier. As it happened, a quest for responses to those perplexing questions, ran like a thematic thread through the Mininger years at Goshen College.⁴

In September 1953, the Board of Education of the Mennonite Church announced that Dr. Paul E. Mininger, since 1937 a member of the faculty of Goshen College and later of the Biblical Seminary, had been elected to become the ninth president of Goshen College. President Mininger's term would begin in the fall of 1954. The intervening year would allow Mininger time to prepare for the assignment, something he did most explicitly during a winter semester leave, studying higher education administration at Columbia University.

By academic training and professional experience, Paul Mininger's special field was religious education. He entered the presidency expecting to reckon both with the timeless conundrum of the Christian pursuit of culture, and the particular twists given that puzzle at mid-twentieth century. In fact, Mininger devoted his inaugural address October 17, 1954, to an exhaustive statement of these themes.

In his talk, entitled "Culture for Service," Mininger acknowledged that new challenges to Goshen's motto would be posed in the coming times:

The problem of determining the mind of Christ is especially difficult in a culture which is rapidly changing and in which men are mobile With the modern methods of communication which make it possible for leaders to mold a mass mind, it becomes exceedingly difficult to resist the pressures toward conformity.⁵

He also anticipated some of the questions Lawrence Burkholder raised one year later to the Peace Society, when he said that "to determine where [the disciple] must break with his contemporary culture and what cultural practices can be brought under the lordship of Christ is a major concern of the dedicated disciple." He signaled too his intent that these questions, as examined at Goshen College, would be placed in the light of Mennonite

tradition, frankly using the word "conservative." In a period of rapid social change, claimed Miner,

the Christian college must be truly conservative. Many of the values which are to be found in this institution and its culture are of permanent worth and must be preserved. This does not mean that all change is considered evil or that the traditional is good because it is old. Goshen College should 'prove all things,' explore the new, but 'hold fast that which is good.'⁶

Truth be told, the nuances of Christian nonconformity were unlikely to be of major concern to students attending this inaugural, whose experience of its extended ceremonies was probably closer to a restless sojourn on a Union folding chair than an eager grappling with the Christ-culture dilemma. If students had an agenda to recommend to the new president, it publicly took the form of a polite request to maintain the status quo: "The *Record* wishes to congratulate Dr. Miner," editor Diener wrote, "and we pledge our support to him. We are confident that the spirit of progress, inherent in the history of Goshen College, shall be maintained and expanded. We believe also, that the academic standards and religious emphasis will be continued" (*Record*, September 24, 1954).

One reason Goshen students of the late 1940s and early 1950s did not attend fully to contemporary big issues of world and church could have been the increasing delineations between the various departments and categories of campus life, a certain loss of a single, unified campus front. Much of this compartmentalizing of campus life was the inevitable result of a leaping post-war enrollment. By 1954 it would have been difficult to imagine the circumstances thirty years earlier, when Noah Oyer in addition to his duties as academic dean was expected to run and teach in the Bible department, serve as pastor of the College Mennonite congregation, and also offer extended personal and religious counseling to students. The duties of administrators had become more specialized, and thus more cloistered from student view or evaluation. The copywriters of the 1954 *Maple Leaf*, bidding farewell to one presidential era and anticipating another, offered a view of college administration as a corporate firm, a student perception of the college quite different from the days of S.C. Yoder's small family enterprise: "Operating a college is a full-scale business and capable administration is responsible for the success. Stacking up neat piles of manila folders, the endless conveyor belt moves on."

These copywriters of 1954 also pictured themselves, at least partially, on the deserving end of college services, addressing to incoming President Miner the lines: "We wish you strength and wisdom and vision to meet this task, for some measure of our success rests in yours." The student self-image of the early years, that of chivalrous servants serving the beloved

college, seemed by this date to include a certain passive receptivity to what the school might offer to them.

Accompanying this greater dependence on college services, paradoxically, was greater student independence from the institution's confines, certainly its physical bounds. Increased American prosperity meant that more students brought cars to campus, and thus sought entertainment off campus more frequently. In time, students would challenge the college's imposition of certain limits—regulations governing housing, chapel attendance, on-campus social expression, for example. One might say that the *alma mater* of the early Goshen, whom students saw as an ally in the face of a critical constituency, and who inspired a fond, almost sentimental devotion among alumni, was being replaced in student eyes of the 1950s with the image formerly reserved for the Mennonite Church organization: namely, a stern, powerful patriarch, whose word was law, but whose traces had to be kicked at occasionally.

As institutional enrollment and resources increased, the college enlarged its efforts to meet student needs through more formally structured and professionally qualified personnel services. Student personnel, of course, had fallen into the field of former President Miller's professional interests, educational psychology, and had received careful development during his administration. Student services handled rather informally by fellow students in the YPCA or the dormitory, by faculty advisors, or by the academic dean, now needed to be delegated to counselors or the campus pastor, faculty roles created for the student's nonacademic care. While the addition of personnel services brought to students the great benefit of more specialized attention in the sphere of personal life, it naturally distanced the business of the administrative faculty—and, to a lesser degree, the all-around counseling capacities of the teaching faculty—from the rounds of a student's life outside of the classroom. And it inevitably lessened the demands for vital student involvement in the operation of the institution.

The greater awareness and acceptance at a Mennonite college by 1954 of the fields of psychology and sociology meant that adolescence and young adulthood were given more attention as distinctive life stages, periods with peculiar needs and characteristics. American society in general was turning its attention to the behaviors recognized as particular to teenagers. Young people entering college in the early 1950s could thus expect to be allowed—wholesomely—to be young people, but at the same time to be deprived of some of the privileges of adulthood collegians of earlier times had enjoyed. Eventually, some students at Goshen grew impatient with society's limiting view of the young. "The treatment given juvenile delinquency and teenagers in our magazines has knocked the faith out of youth . . .," Marion Bontrager wrote in April 1959. "To have one's integrity questioned continually is to be annihilated. . . . When we (Christians) no longer

define the teenage period as a time of life to endure, youth will feel the stimulus to respond positively to opportunities." After all, Bontrager quoted the current advertising slogan, "You expect more from Standard, and you get it" (*Record*, April 24, 1959). But in a self-fulfilling way, the society's refusal to view college students as adults also stunted students' growth.

Of course, such absolute generalizations about student attitudes are always of limited value, perhaps especially in decades as easily prey to stereotypes as the 1950s and 1960s. The changing student demeanor between 1950 and 1960, from an apathetic, dutiful, locally-inclined outlook, to a less satisfied visage with one eye on large, off-campus perplexities, is an important strand in the story of these decades. But it must be understood that any trend in collective student thinking contains gradations of agreement and some dissent, and that the change in student outlook at Goshen during the 1950s occurred more as evolution than revolution.

One must be careful, too, not to give the impression that student life in the first part of the Mininger years suffered from lassitude or low spirits. Far from it; the levels of student energy, ingeniousness, and morale were high, and achievements were impressive. One thinks, for example, of the successful staging by the literary societies (with the supervision of Professor Roy Umble) of contemporary drama, such as Gian Carlo Menotti's 1951 musical pageant *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, or the dramatic adaptation of South African writer Alan Paton's novel of 1948, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. The themes dreamt up by student planners for the annual Homecoming weekend, "The Return of Odysseus," "Pilgrimage to Canterbury," or "An Anthology of Robert Frost," for example, reveal literate imaginations.

In the area of the fine arts, Goshen College in the 1950s could be seen recovering and building on some of the groundwork laid far earlier during the scholastically ambitious Byers years between 1903 and 1913. Indeed, the curricular expansion in the areas of music and applied art between 1940 and 1960 is remarkable. In the late 1950s there were steady advances toward classical music appreciation. The college orchestra got underway around 1957, though student instrumentalists had organized themselves to perform in ensembles even earlier in the decade. Faculty members Ralph Wade, and then J. Harold Moyer, conducted the group until 1959, when music professor Lon Sherer joined the faculty and took over conducting the group—a life's labor of love, as it became for Sherer. In the spring of 1960, an orchestral and choral performance of the Mozart *Requiem* was performed successfully after its directors secured permission from Dean Kreider to rehearse it for public rendition. Though much earlier, in pre-closing days, the college had sponsored similar orchestral and choral events, the church's caution about the use of instruments had relaxed only gradually following 1924. Thus, as Sherer recalled his early years at Goshen, the orchestra operated "in an exciting aura of 'forbidden fruit.'" Proposals such

as that made to perform Mozart in 1960 succeeded thanks to the presence of diplomacy and grace on all sides of the issue.⁷

As director in the early 1950s of the select chamber group, the Motet Singers, Professor Mary Oyer aimed frankly at perfection, coaching vocalists on points of technical mastery— everything from accurate pronunciation of the German umlaut to precise negotiation of intervals— while creating in the singers a historical and aesthetic receptiveness to the works under study. These efforts to instill standards of excellence and aesthetic integrity in Christian artistic performance rayed out in several important ways beyond the college practice hall, since the Motet Singers performed on numerous public occasions on campus and toured throughout Mennonite churches. Professor Oyer's exacting and enlivening introduction to aesthetics in the Fine Arts course she developed in these years similarly tuned the larger church, through its students, to recognize art's place in worship and the Christian life. In 1956-1957, following the hiring of instructor Ezra Hershberger the previous year, a major in the applied arts became available at Goshen for the first time—though already in 1921 the college had begun offering classes in drawing and the applied arts.

Even something as material as the campus's architectural resources may have influenced a tendency toward a cloistered student outlook. Before the completion of High Park dormitory in 1957, men's and women's student housing was concentrated in close proximity on the front campus. Men's accommodations spilled to North Hall across College Avenue (the former East Hall), to boarders' quarters off campus, and to the temporary but infamous Barracks. Open house visitation to dormitories was permitted once annually. That ritual storming of the co-educational barricades was deemed so major a social occurrence that, in addition to tours of quarters rendered more or less presentable, the men and women treated one another to an extended evening's stage entertainments. The respect given male and female privacy on campus, it should be remembered, was representative of a more sexually cautious American era, not merely a special stricture of Mennonite culture. But the sharp segregation of men and women may have had something to do in creating the formal, predictable dating patterns some students objected to as the decade wore on. After two dates with the same guy, a girl might as well be marked "taken," complained one male advocate of more relaxed group dating in 1955 (*Record*, December 9, 1955). However unimaginative the formula, it was producing matrimonial results: the *Record* reported thirty-two alumni or current student nuptials for the summer of 1957 (September 27, 1957). A glimpse of the ritualized social scene might be taken from this contemporary, irony-free account of a classic Goshen date night, circa 1956: "Lecture-Music nights are busy for the girls working at the Westlawn reception desk. Dur-

ing the pre-program hour the lobby is a congestion of timorous young men, clamoring telephones and high-heeled ladies" (*Maple Leaf* 1956).

One might also make some inferences about the nature of students' scholarly application in these years from the use made of the Memorial Library. Ironically, too much use by too many students lessened the small library's effectiveness as a study area. Even the design of the library reading room, which cozily gathered eight students around each work table, would have discouraged the solitary, extended struggle with assignments that later students would think of as true studying. Furthermore, students on social rounds tended to cruise through this central gathering place, plaguing head librarian James R. Clemens—and, presumably, any student attempting productive work—with conversational chatter.⁸

Student energy in the 1950s was given generously to athletics. Intercollegiate athletics and forensics competition had been eliminated from Goshen's program by a ruling of the Board of Education when the college reopened in 1924. By 1930, intercollegiate competition had resumed in forensics, but not in sports. Early in the 1950s, a college basketball team began a cautious re-entry into extramural competition, playing such locally-fielded teams as Ben Medows Dodge, or the loosely-assembled teams of nearby I-W alternative service units. The possibility of resuming true intercollegiate competition was being discussed by 1956, was approved by the Board of Education in 1957, but not actually resumed until 1958, when Goshen fielded a varsity basketball team and an official squad of cheerleaders to go with it. Some reform-minded gadflies at the end of the 1950s complained that Goshen students were sports-crazy at the expense of intellectual substance. But the student devotion to sports during this period represented something more substantial than a mere celebration of the non-academic, since it ultimately overcame one of the tenacious, symbolic restraints on Goshen's collegiate life still in place since the college's closing.

Even though by the end of the decade the gadflies were despairingly applying the adjective "frivolous" to the mainstream student's approach to college, one does find an infectious, broad acceptance for sheer fun running through the 1950s at Goshen. Faculty were part of it. They mounted, for example, with an ample share of silliness, a "Little Red Schoolhouse" pantomime for the Student-Faculty Get-Acquainted Social of 1954. This "Schoolhouse" burlesque was apparently the occasion on which Professor Guy Hershberger presented an updated version of the College Song. Hershberger's doggerel lampooned faculty members verse by verse. Of his portly colleague Harold Bender, the tall, lean Hershberger rhymed, he "needs an extra long suspender," and brought down the house.⁹ Professor of Physical Education Roman Gingerich was unstuffy enough to pose for a *Record* photo in the fall of 1956, sober-faced in hunting jacket and cap with

bow and arrow trained on a cow, prepared, according to the accompanying caption, "to mow down local beef for the faculty men's steak fry."¹⁰

Some of the better student writers managed to be funny and at the same time convey disapproval, or incomprehension, of student manners. Dean Kuhns, a junior in 1956, spun this meditation from a friend's comment, that the Assembly Hall balcony before chapel resembled nothing so much as a livestock sale barn:

As I closed my eyes and nose and just listened . . . , all the essential characteristics of the sale barn were present—boisterous laughter, a loud slap on the back (with the inevitable response, "Eat the wall!"), the stomping as of a herd of stubborn hogs being brought into the ring with an occasional application of the electric buzzer, the banging of the ring gate, the confused babble of rival voices in sale-barn blab.

Then the confusion and noise gradually decreases as the auctioneer rises to his platform station at the north side of the ring and announces that before him is the finest bunch of hogs he's ever seen (*Record*, February 17, 1956).

Distinctive in 1956 too was the quirky humor of Don Marquis, whose voice breezed refreshingly through *Record* columns on topics such as the inexplicable student attachment to ice skating on the Elkhart River ("Animals Don't Do It"), and the history of the underappreciated Union clock tower chimes, with their tendency toward erratic tolling: "They either didn't ring, rang all the time, or rang in a pseudo-jazz pattern that exemplified the worst of Benny Goodman, Louis Armstrong and Caesar Franck" (*Record*, January 18, 1957 and May 22, 1959).

So Goshen students of the 1950s enjoyed uncomplicated, unapologetic fun. But they were also capable of seriousness. Early in the Miner years the college's involvement in two significant areas provided crucial and lasting food for thought through the next decade. The first issue, race relations, had more or less been present for decades, in the correspondence of missionaries, or the presence of international students on campus. It made a formal campus appearance in the church-sponsored "Christian Race Relations" conference April 22-24, 1955. In 1957, the interracial Christian community at Georgia's Koinonia Farms was placed on Goshen's map when a pair of professors, Lawrence Burkholder and Glen Miller, traveled to Americus in April. The surrounding community, opposed to Koinonia's social experiment, was boycotting the farm during its planting season. The Goshen professors looked into the possibility of students volunteering there.

Over Easter 1957, a group of students sponsored by the YPCA, including Victor Stoltzfus and Marie Althouse (Stoltzfus) did travel to Koinonia,

joining in daily chores and standing watch in the event of attempts at shootings or bombings by hostile neighbors. Victor Stoltzfus reported on the experience, speaking in favor of the kind of "force" (as distinguished from violence) shown by civil rights leaders against racism in the south. He cited as positive examples the people of Koinonia Farms, the Montgomery Improvement Association, and the Reverend Martin Luther King (*Record*, March 21, 1958 and May 10, 1957). Goshen students involved in Y-sponsored outreach programs around 1957 were also making contact with the members of Black churches in South Bend.

A second serious issue touching the mostly contented, relaxed Goshen campus in the 1950s was the United States's Cold War relationship with the Soviet Union. The fact that the Mennonite Church had assisted Russian Mennonite refugees on a number of occasions since the previous century, and that some number of Mennonites continued to live beyond the mysterious reach of Soviet borders, gave Mennonite Americans, and, more intimately, Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites, a personal concern about Russian affairs. The (Old) Mennonite Church's ambassador in investigating these eastern bloc religious matters was Goshen's seminary dean, Harold Bender. Under the auspices of Mennonite Central Committee, Bender made a six-week exploratory trip to Russia in the fall of 1956, visiting by plane isolated Mennonite communities scattered across Middle Asia and Siberia. He returned from those exotic reaches of the Mennonite world eager to describe his travel, and did so at Goshen in December. Naturally, any appearance of the college's affinity for members of the brotherhood still in Russia could be construed as political fraternizing by watchers from the outside.

Yet over the course of the decade, and at the risk of local misunderstanding, the college went its quiet but dogged way in resisting the national trend toward panic and Red-baiting. It might be said that even in the Cold War, the campus maintained its conscientious objection. It also tapped its in-house resource of foreign students. In February 1956, Hans Wiehler, a Prussian refugee, wrote a clear-minded critical response to a Lecture-Music speaker, Dr. Arthur R. Siebens, an American living in Germany. "Siebens did not help the cause of peace by impressing on us again how bad the Reds are. . . and how the Reds terrorize the people (and they do, believe me!)," Wiehler wrote. "What our Goshen audience needed most was understanding and—yes, even love for the Red enemy, thus making us immune against the poison of the radio and press in their 'hate Russia' campaign" (*Record*, February 3, 1956). Professor Donovan Smucker of the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Chicago, addressing the Goshen Seminary Fellowship April 29, 1956, provided an analysis of Soviet Union communism from the broader perspective of Russian history and culture. Smucker dared to suggest that "Communism is judgment" of the failure of Christian missionary

efforts in Russia and Europe, and of Christianity's ignoring "the pains of the poor" (*Record*, May 4, 1956). One other potentially misunderstood development at Goshen College in this regard was the inclusion in the curriculum for a number of years of Russian language courses, taught by a local European refugee, George Alexenko, whom Goshen administrators had discovered working as night watchman in a local factory. While teaching, Alexenko earned his B.A. at Goshen and went on to become a high school teacher of foreign languages.¹¹

Students in the 1950s, then, were eagerly absorbing the lessons of respected teachers, cultivating their personal faith, and producing creative programs or humorous reflections on their own foibles. They were less taken up with nagging reexaminations of their denomination's methods, their college's philosophy, or their world's social complexities. Even so, those issues were available for exploration to the interested. Simply the riveting presence of great artists and speakers, passing across the Union stage through endless seasons of superb Lecture-Music programming, enhanced a student's knowledge of the world beyond Goshen, or, in certain transporting moments, of the Beyond. The L-M season ticket holder from the class of 1960, for instance, by the end of four years would have heard Leo Tolstoy's daughter Countess Alexandra, senior CBS reporter David Schoenbrun, former British prime minister Lord Clement Atlee, and Martin Luther King Jr., among other notable visitors. Musical performers during that same period included Marian Anderson, the Robert Shaw Chorale, the St. Louis Symphony, and other major orchestras. Some of the dignitaries were hosted by faculty.

Students were also reaping benefits from the quiet advances in program planning and design. Cooperative work begun in the late 1940s among representatives of Elkhart County, the Mennonite Board of Education, and Goshen College had resulted in the establishment in 1950 of a school of nursing. Orpah Mosemann served as first director. The High Park dormitory, situated on the west side of Main Street opposite the main campus and within view of the new Goshen Hospital, was constructed with a view to housing and training the nursing students. President Mininger, however, rejected that plan on the grounds that it unnecessarily isolated nursing students from the rest of campus life, and thus High Park began life serving the function of a general campus dormitory.

In the negotiations with county and city representatives regarding the nursing program, President Ernest Miller had played an important foundational role. Dean Carl Kreider was especially involved in the problem of developing a high quality collegiate nursing program that could be integrated into a liberal arts curriculum. Those efforts bore fruit when, in 1953, the first class of Goshen College nursing graduates took State Board exams for the R.N. and ranked second among nursing schools in Indiana. The

new program boosted community relations, an interesting side benefit to the college. The student nurses, intelligent and personable, showed patients and supervisors in local hospitals the human face of Goshen College, thus enlarging the community's understanding of the institution.

The Biblical Seminary received accreditation by the American Association of Theological Schools in December 1958, an effort spearheaded by Dean Harold Bender. The college half of Goshen College and Biblical Seminary was benefiting from the more seasoned students, and theological substance, emerging from the seminary wing. Until the end of the decade when the seminary erected its own building, seminarians and undergraduates had substantial contact: rubbing elbows, sharing classrooms and chapel, and trading ideas in the congested to and fro of the Administration Building.

In 1958 the Goshen Biblical Seminary extended its own resources when it began a collaboration with the General Conference Church's Mennonite Biblical Seminary. This school moved from its Chicago location to a campus in nearby Elkhart, with the purpose of sharing a program of instruction with Goshen's seminary: the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries became officially established on September 26, 1958. The cooperation of these two branches in seminary education marked a major Mennonite historical threshold.

A friendly and flexible philosophy of liberal arts college education marked these years. Perhaps because so many faculty and faculty spouses had themselves felt so welcomed as Goshen students, faculty families in the 1950s extended the college's tradition of a holistic concern for students. As informal a laboratory as a faculty member's living room could yield up significant educational results. In one of many illustrative cases, Professor Karl Massanari, with his gifted senior General Psychology student T. Paul Verghese of India (later Dr. Paulos Mar Gregorios) around 1951 contrived a series of social gatherings in Karl and Christine Massanari's home. These brought together U.S. and foreign students, and allowed Verghese in an independent study project to analyze and report on the interactions.¹² Gracious faculty hospitality helped to enliven a seminar, humanize the scholar-professor, and welcome the student individual to the Goshen scene. Here the frequent presence of the faculty wife—culturally astute, interested in students, and often generous with tea and baked goods, needs to be credited.

One haven of informal student education in the mid-1950s was Fliederhof, the unusual home of biology professor Dr. Alta Schrock. This carefully decorated hay barn-turned-residence at the end of Westwood Road combined cozy homeyness with a whiff of the arty bohemian.¹³ A student writing in 1956, Carol Teuscher, attempted to give an impression of the place and its meaning for student visitors:

I look around—at the 110-year-old white pine cabinet, the braided rugs tossed around the bare floor, the old Dutch sink . . . filled with letters, cards, and other paraphernalia, the chair that needs to be slipcovered, the candles burned down to their holders, the plate of “honey-bread” and glass of milk beside my notebook—and the humble serenity of it all makes me think of the group who sat around the fireplace telling their most inspiring moments (*Record*, June 1, 1956).

Dr. Schrock, who began teaching at the college in 1946, encouraged casual community within the college family; the Audubon Club she sponsored for years was another area that benefited from her interest. She called students “cherubs,” and extended a standing invitation on Sundays to after-church fellowship in her home. In the spring of 1955, freshmen performed a memorably freewheeling version of “Peter and the Wolf” in the Fliederhof meadow. Dropping by Fliederhof for tea, song, or fireside discussion made students feel they had temporarily flown the mundane bounds of midwestern undergraduate life, and landed among pilgrims at some wholesome wayside inn. The impulse by Goshen faculty families to extend warmth and hospitality traveled well later, when faculty rapport with students became a crucial element in planning the Study-Service Trimester program.

Heat and light were generated inside the classroom, too. Some of the newest professors had been recruited directly from graduate school. They imported into their classrooms the fresh ideas, youthful intensity, and occasional bit of bravura swagger picked up in that milieu. On the other hand, there was also Goshen’s extraordinary fund of master teachers who were seasoned in their fields and in Goshen’s philosophy. A large group of professors who joined the faculty in the S.C. Yoder years—or even earlier—remained at their posts in 1954 and beyond.

Any number of these developments in Goshen’s academic sphere during the 1950s hinted at the administration’s interest in keeping education at Goshen lively and progressive. One area already under theoretical consideration for inclusion in the curriculum was learning in nontraditional settings. Long before entering office, President Mininger had begun thinking about the influence experiential learning gained on the Mennonite voluntary service front was having in the church and could be encouraged to have in the college.¹⁴ Professor of Education Mary Royer had made one aspect of that question, the way voluntary service experience improved the preparation of elementary teachers for their profession, the subject of her 1952 Ohio State University doctoral dissertation. A significant portion of faculty and spouses recruited after the war arrived with voluntary service experience, gained in post-war relief capacities abroad, CPS assignments in the United States, or both. That phase of service shaped their service to

Goshen in turn. Innovative educational mergers of reflection with action eventually became a trend, but they were being given administrative consideration, and informing a good deal of Goshen teaching, long before they became generally pursued.

So a march toward fuller student confrontation with tough issues, and a natural progression toward less passive learning, had really been advancing steadily throughout the decade. Groundwork was being laid that prepared the campus to advance to a more conscious examination of issues broader than their immediate sphere. But running parallel to the evidences of student vigor in the early to mid-1950s, there was also a strain of safety, of common-sense acceptance of the ordinary, a lack of romanticism, in various forms of student expression. There was, for example, the (humorous) recurrent motif of the daytime dozer, a character frequently to be encountered in class, in chapel, or the library; this student archetype, present in any era, was given all but heroic notice in the student press of the time. The quality of imperturbable good sense surfaced engagingly in 1954, in a lighthearted student meditation on the men's colognes vaunted in various advertisements. Looking the Old Spice sales pitch squarely in the eye, Don Weaver asked reasonably, "Who wants to smell like cognac, cedar, and old leather, anyway?" (*Record*, November 12, 1954). The mid-1950s student was pragmatic. The seniors of 1955 built a picnic pavilion, in the new wooded "park" acquired southwest of the campus (now Witmer Woods). It stood near the 1941 class gift, the College Cabin, a structure also built mainly by student labor.

Less engaging than disturbing, though, was a reluctance to speak one's mind, at least to own one's opinions publicly. Writers of letters to the *Record* editor, for instance, or even of longer pieces, frequently requested, and were granted, anonymity. Eventually, by the late 1950s, the phenomenon of the anonymous *Record* author became in itself an issue for discussion in those pages, as campus leaders deplored a climate that discouraged honest self-revelation. It seemed that the writers ready to ask the most pertinent, provocative questions were those least comfortable disclosing their identity. "Why do the girls who conform least to the principles and beliefs of the Mennonite Church have the most dates?" queried an anonymous resident of North Hall. A nameless student wrote to protest the relentless, superficial "helloing" practiced indiscriminately on the college's sidewalks—a jab at the hallowed tradition of Goshen College friendliness, which the *Record* staff regularly enjoined students to uphold. Another pointed out a significant shortfall of receipts after the annual Work Day, promised in advance to be the biggest fund-raiser yet. The writer emphasized the painful fact that money meant for charitable causes was remaining with the volunteers.

More important in recharging the exchange of campus opinion were two anonymous items, religious and social respectively, that appeared three months apart in the *Record* in the 1957-1958 academic year. These, at least in the realm of the student press, began to dislodge the campus habits of caution and complacency. The first item proposed a "Doubter's Club" for Goshen College:

One of the worst things a Church college can do is assume that everybody is a Christian. This naturally leads to conformity and to indifference. . . . There is a healthy brand of honest doubting that everyone should go through if he wants to know what religious convictions are. There is a point at which doubting and seeking are the same thing (*Record*, October 25, 1957).

Then, on February 21, 1958, an editorial writer dropped a bombshell. The piece, ironically left unsigned, described Goshen students as "withdrawn, inhibited, timid, unassertive, and unquestioning." "There is a basic sanity and stability connected with a conservative and authoritarian background," the writer stated, "but it only becomes an advantage as it is exploited to serve a free, seeking, courageous individual in his social, cultural, and religious pursuits" (*Record*, February 21, 1958).

As if to prove the author's point, the loudest response this "bombshell" drew from its targets was silence. Editor Ron Schertz implored students to reconsider their lack of response. "We accept everything as a wonderful ideal without evaluating or questioning it at all," he lamented.

Brethren, this ought not to be, and we must find a solution to this problem. At the rate we are progressing, we will soon be intellectual morons, not sure what we believe, and the day will come when we will need to set aside a special 'Intellectual Emphasis Week' at Goshen College (*Record*, March 7, 1958).

Perhaps it was the prospect of being known as "intellectual morons" that unleashed fuller and frank opinion from students on campus—or, more likely, this prompting from campus leaders was a catalyst that triggered a bonding of campus restlessness, some end-of-the-decade urge toward change, the apocalyptic political shadows cast by atomic weapons, and the genuine streams of talent and quality of thought running at slightly subterranean levels in many areas of the institution. In any case, Schertz's inference of the bleak possibility that Goshen students had no opinions finally coaxed many such opinions into the open, authors' names boldly attached. For example, the foreign student Volker Horsch soon responded to Schertz, pointing out that to refrain from speaking at times may represent strength, not indifference; and besides, the South German-Swiss Mennonites found at Goshen were just innately destined to be reticent

(Horsch himself was from South Germany) (*Record*, March 21, 1958). Student Ervin Beck wrote forthrightly in the fall of 1958 that creativity at the college was at times impeded by “a Victorian censorship that is not always reasonable” (*Record*, November 28, 1958).

An YPCA-sponsored event called the Youth Forum, begun in 1959, signaled a rise in student interest in issues larger than mundane campus concerns. Had anyone bothered to make the connection, they might have seen the Youth Forum fulfilling the need for the kind of “Intellectual Emphasis” event Ron Schertz had only facetiously imagined. The student designers attempted to model the program on ancient Greek youth forums: there was a faculty convener, a student panel, and audience response. “The audience will participate,” the first forum announcement half-invited, half-commanded (*Record*, October 16, 1959).

These Youth Forums embodied several motifs of the college’s coming decade. They took the view that political and theological issues were indeed relevant to students. They presupposed opposing views to exist on campus, and promoted public dialogue as a salutary exercise. They also showcased a more informal version of the peer-like collaboration between students and faculty always evident at Goshen and which, rather remarkably, would thrive through the anti-authoritarian years to come. The Youth Forums were themselves an inspiration to greater student intellectual and political engagement. Organizers crusadingly devoted the first Youth Forum, held October 18, 1959, to the subject, “Complacency on the GC Campus.”

Two days before the first Youth Forum, student Marlin Miller in a *Record* guest editorial entitled “Hollowness” issued a literate challenge to students to engage themselves in the day’s pressing realities. “Our generation has the dubious honor of being called the ‘uncommitted generation,’” he began. “We are those who are so afraid of being wrong that we will not dare to be right.” Students at Goshen who declined the risk of an opinion slighted their own potential, and what’s more, that of their institution:

One of the central purposes of the foundation of Goshen College is tersely expressed in the motto “Culture for Service.” But, in many respects, this has been rendered an ineffectual cliché, not because it does not express a profound truth, but because we have stumbled on the first word. The contents of a full culture have been siphoned off through tubes of lethargy, superficial complacency, and false religiosity.

To Miller’s rhetorical credit, he sugared this pill with some wry humor. A German student had observed to him, Miller reported, that Goshen male students’ main concerns appeared to be “women, cars, and food—not necessarily in that order! Now God created women; cars are quite useful in

our day; and food is a necessary ingredient of human life; BUT this is hardly a desirable summary of a college community."

The substance of Miller's editorial, however, was hardly lighthearted:

Where is the academic discipline, the intellectual curiosity, the discernment of prophetic insight? Where is the Eureka! of a challenging discovery in the Arts, Sciences, and Bible? Where is the spontaneous concern for the ideals men have lived for, the commitments men have adventured with, the discoveries men have toiled for, and the faith men have died for?

Quoting T.S. Eliot, Miller concluded:

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas! (*Record*, October 16, 1959).

One student's eloquent editorial naturally did not awaken the student body to brilliant action, or even empty the front window booth of Goshen College regulars at Miller's Downtown Restaurant. But it did seem, in retrospect, to herald something like a collective contemporary coming-of-age for the college's students. The period of roughly 1960 to 1964, a prelude to the more notoriously political period on Goshen's and other American campuses, saw a great deal of probing, reflection, and expression in the areas of politics and society, religion, and academic accomplishment. The essay on "The Hollow Men" was one piece in a larger picture coming into focus as the college looked forward to a new decade. That picture included an emerging student leadership that created opportunities for informal intellectual encounters among students, giving casual intelligent inquiry renewed prestige. It included a freer acknowledgment by students of religious uncertainty, an assertion of the greater possibility in small groups of faithful discipleship, and a sharper censure of hypocrisy. In the fall of 1963, for example, an editorial writer counseled students that, if the mealtime prayer ritual taking place around the cafeteria was for them untruthful, they should staunchly "look straight ahead as they acknowledge their self-adequacy" (*Record*, November 8, 1963).

This turn-of-the-decade picture also included, in 1960, a change of the political guard following John F. Kennedy's defeat of Richard M. Nixon. With President Dwight D. Eisenhower's two terms at an end, Kennedy's victory signaled a change from Republican to Democrat leadership and from the older generation's authority to the younger's. In the fall of 1960, the Mennonite Historical Society presented a timely discussion that attempted to put Mennonites and political responsibility into historical perspective. Dean Carl Kreider on that occasion addressed the question, "Should Men-

nonites vote for Kennedy, Nixon, or not at all?" (*Record*, October 14, 1960). The prospect of national elections naturally pushed politics to the forefront. To the new keenness for American politics was added a serious attentiveness to international events, and to the workings of Goshen's own campus governance and policy.

The interest in politics that surfaced on campus in 1960 did not a hotbed of liberal political activists make—certainly no radicals of the stripe that made elders, and some fellow students, uneasy later. A poll taken on campus before the November 8, 1960 presidential election showed that 92 percent of the students surveyed supported Richard Nixon over John F. Kennedy; the south entrance to the Arts Building displayed a Nixon bumper sticker.¹⁵

Rather than in some dramatic leap to the barricades, the change of awareness of 1960 manifested itself in a forthright embrace of domestic and international political events as significant to the people of Goshen College. Student Iris Koher, for example, in January 1960 began to supply a steady stream of *Record* columns devoted to political events: she covered Red China, the atomic bomb, the Mideast, Africa, communism, Cuba. Editorial writer Doris Janzen, for her part, meditated gently but substantially on questions of faith and the world, offering, in the case of the trial of war criminal Adolf Eichmann in Israel, a perspective on forgiveness not strictly political, but radically Christian, and thus with political implications (*Record*, April 21, 1961).

In fact, the yeast leavening the Goshen College sensibility came precisely from the notion that world politics could indeed impinge integrally on Mennonitism. Perhaps some degree of political involvement had always been part of the Mennonite picture, if one considered Zurich and Antwerp, India and Argentina, Chicago and Clermont-en-Argonne. If that were the case, then the cherished idea of "the church against the world" might broaden in meaning, too.¹⁶ Taken narrowly, "the church against the world" implied an embattled body of insiders, reacting against hostile forces in alien surroundings and shielded by the armor of separation. More appropriate to American Mennonites of 1960, some seemed to suggest, would be an interpretation of that phrase that evoked an image of Mennonites on the world stage, dramatizing salvation against a world backdrop. Of course, no one suggested an annulment of the conflict at the heart of the original phrase; the church would never be the world, but might work in it boldly and witness to its realities.

The objections to Goshen College's motto that had arisen periodically in the past were the result, in part, of pitting culture and service against each other, then fretting about whether college-bred Mennonites would hail culture as superior to service. But by now, of course, "culture" connoted to most Mennonites things far broader than puffed-up manners or superflu-

ous book-learning. One's culture was also one's own society and mores. Foreign culture was the intriguing and easily misunderstood medium of the mission field, study tour, or voluntary relief assignment, the world abroad in which American Mennonites with a call had been serving for over sixty years. The awakened interest around 1960 in at least facing the political world, discernible at Goshen and with evident parallels in the larger Mennonite Church, allowed many to glimpse anew the valuable interplay between culture and service in the college's motto and programs.

Perhaps the most immediate stimulus to political awareness following 1960 was the dynamic, young president whom few of Goshen's students, and a minority of faculty, had helped to elect. John Kennedy's wit, sparkling in press conferences, won students over:

Reporter: Mr. President, in view of the great strides the Russians are making in space, how soon can the U.S. send a man to the moon, sir?

Kennedy: Whenever Barry Goldwater wants to go (*Record*, October 19, 1962).

Kennedy's early proposal to create a Youth Peace Corps attracted even more effectively the serious attention of Goshen College. Here was a national leader seemingly taking cues about service from the peace churches' own volunteer tradition, and moreover staking responsibility and faith on the young. On March 5, 1961, a representative of the plan, Dr. Maurice Albertson, visited campus to address students about its details. The Peace Society wrote to President Kennedy to endorse the idea.¹⁷

Martin Luther King Jr.'s delivery of a Lecture-Music program on "Race Relations" on March 10, 1960, also sparked a great deal of interest. The lecture was well attended by both the campus and local Goshen communities. King was remembered on that occasion as having said of Blacks' civil rights aspirations: "We want to be your brother, not your brother-in-law"—an initially curious statement that packs more punch the longer one thinks about it.¹⁸ In the issue of the *Record* that followed King's lecture, no less than five letters to the editor on assorted subjects appeared; an editorial addressed segregation in the South in response to King's talk. A forthcoming Youth Forum panel planned to take material from the evening with King as a basis for discussing "Integration: Attitudes and Actions" (*Record*, March 18, 1960). All this, on a campus that two years before had been lambasted for being "unassertive and unquestioning" (*Record*, February 21, 1958).

Students were also paying attention to politics as they played out on campus. Early in 1959, Stan Reedy had written about his observations as a member of a recently-formed group, the Student-Faculty Senate. Reedy had come to believe that students' influence in a recent decision made by that body had been negligible. The outcome of the discussion had been "pre-

determined by that austere [sic] group known as the faculty" (*Record*, February 20, 1959). Through the next decade, students continued to agitate for more autonomy in shaping policy and making decisions that affected student life. Complaints about lack of student independence typically focused on the college's censorship of student publications, about the need for permission from the Student Personnel Office for students to plan any entertainment, and the desire of students to have more say in matters like dormitory policy. Gradually gaining a foothold was the notion that students—the "people" for whom the college, like a democratic nation-state, presumably existed—were not in every instance the constituents catered to by the institution. The college's efforts to create and present as favorable as possible an image to representatives of the Mennonite Church, the Board of Education, alumni, and the local community were sometimes condemned by politically-sensitized students as grossly undemocratic. The college's Public Relations Office took many student raps through the decade for its perceived function as the institution's image- and damage-control corps.

In 1960, the Board of Education appointed a new board, the Board of Overseers, to take over a large portion of responsibility for the college's day-to-day operating policy. The creation of the Board of Overseers indicated a trend on the part of the Board of Education toward delegating some of their governing policies to a group committed to familiarity with the individual college's local situation. But students who were seeking greater "democracy" at the college awaited the delegation of greater responsibility for student affairs to the students themselves.

Any mild student agitation aside, Goshen College as it entered a new decade enjoyed boom times. One reason Goshen students at this juncture felt prepared to turn more attention to national and international matters may have been because the institutional health of their immediate locale was unquestionably thriving. Enrollment continued its annual climb. The president and his advisors found themselves in the pleasant but daunting position of facing more applicants than the campus could comfortably accommodate. Long-range planning, an effort to predict enrollment trends and to project the college's needs in staff and facilities, occupied a great deal of energy behind the administrative scenes.

New campus buildings reflected the college's growth. In the spring of 1960, two buildings staked out new ground further south than any previous campus structures. The handsome Church Chapel, dedicated April 3, provided the College Church congregation its first actual meetinghouse, whose sanctuary and classrooms were also available for college use. The completion of the new Church Chapel ended the College congregation's Sunday morning gatherings held for several years in its interim home, the auditorium-gymnasium of the Union building, and preceded by almost fifty years of worship in Assembly Hall. The neighboring Seminary Building situated

southwest of the Church Chapel, dedicated June 4, contained classrooms, offices, a library and archives, and a lovely small chapel whose plain yet elegant design, at the suggestion of H.S. Bender, had been made to resemble that of early Mennonite meetinghouses in eastern Pennsylvania. On April 21, 1961, the college dedicated the C.Z. Yoder dormitory for men, a modern-looking building with a "bubble" entrance at each end. Construction of this residence hall meant further activity taken away from the north campus, the traditional hub of campus activity. As had been the case in the decision to erect High Park dormitory on the west side of U.S. Highway 15, in choosing the site for Yoder dormitory the administration only reluctantly agreed to cross a natural campus border, in this case the railroad tracks running along the campus's east side.¹⁹ A renovated Coffman Hall then was converted, for the second time in its history, from serving as a men's dormitory to accommodating an overflow in women residents.

An expanding campus spread students physically further apart than they had been when occupying only the north campus. To enhance what was perceived as diminished opportunities for communication, at the beginning of 1961 a committee called the Student Activities Board announced the creation of a "Campus Opinion Bulletin Board," which would hang at a central point in the Administration Building, still the primary location for college classes. The opinion board begun in 1961 was hardly the battlefield of graffiti crossfire it later became. The Activities Board requested that opinions be typed, double spaced, on an eight-and-one-half-by-eleven inch sheet, then mailed (not nailed) to the Opinion Board. Before posting, an Activities Board representative screened the typed sheets for "poor grammar, extra-colorful language, or unjustified personal attack." Responses to the posted sheets were to be penned on four-by-six inch cards and dropped into an adjacent "answer box." Student Activities would tabulate responses and provide a summary of reactions to any posted opinion (*Record*, January 20, 1961).

Beyond the humor of its cumbersome logistics to users of electronic mail, the original submission procedure for the opinion board no doubt strikes a later era of students as seriously stifling to free speech. Today's reactions to the elaborate protocol tell us something about changes in expectations for self-expression that have developed since 1960. They also tell us something about the early 1960s at Goshen. A crusade for greater exchange of opinion? Yes, but waged with a view that thoughtful opinion and good grammar made logical bedfellows, and that the exchange should be subject to a certain order and control.

Student literacy was high in the early 1960s. In the fall of 1960, the time of the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the campus possessed a single television set, with that one cloistered away "for the use of the science department," as if reserved as laboratory equipment (*Record*, October 14, 1960). The virtual absence of television on campus helps explain why the

popular culture of an early-1960s student constituted a mix of print phenomena that might include the poetry of Robert Bly, political statements by secretary general of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld, the irreverent comic parodies of *Mad* magazine, and a syndicated newspaper column purportedly typed after hours by a cockroach named Archy. A growing student interest in the world outside the campus, and the need to read in order to obtain such information, reinforced each other.

Student and faculty forays off campus, and subsequent reports back, also helped keep students informed of current affairs. In the spring of 1961, the Intercollegiate Peace Fellowship sponsored a Race Relations Conference at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Peace Society representatives who went to Nashville on this occasion heard student sit-in leaders from the South describe the way of love and nonviolence as expressed in their protests; Goshen's travelers then carried back to college these testimonies from non-Mennonite activists who had spoken in such Mennonite language. In the summer of 1961, Harold S. Bender attended the Prague Peace Conference, reporting to Peace Society in September on the struggle of Christians behind the Iron Curtain. Throughout 1961, the editorial page of the *Record* practically groaned under the weight of letters to the editor and serious-minded debates, often conducted by international students, on world political developments such as the death of Patrice Lumumba during the Congo crisis.

The stirring of political curiosity at Goshen College occurred within a Mennonite Church not unanimously enthusiastic about this kind of awakening. Once leaders of the late 1950s had recharged student opinion, discussion typically centered around Professor Lawrence Burkholder's perennial puzzle: the appropriate Mennonite response to a needy but compromised political world. The consensus among students, at least those forward enough to publish their thinking on the matter, was that the times demanded involvement. In May 1961, Don Nofziger wrote: "If we believe that the message of Christ is relevant to the twentieth century we dare not remain completely uninvolved in seeking a solution to the arms race" (*Record*, May 12, 1961). Alan Kreider, a student active in the movement to stir Christian thinking on political matters, offered a comprehensive exposition of his views the following fall, accenting his comments with a reminder of the absolute stakes facing the world's citizens at the moment:

Some people feel that they need only to pray and leave the fate of the world to God's care. I disagree. . . . While the Christian must pray for world leaders and trust in God's providential hand in history, he is also a world citizen. The people of God must make their weight felt in the practical political situation of 1961 America. They cannot do this by remaining quiet in the face of ultimate disaster. They must be informed, concerned, and active

in the cause of peace and justice. . . . In this way we may replace cliché with meaning in these "perilous times." We also just might save humanity.

A follow-up column by Kreider turned to the more difficult question of the application of such theories, admitting honestly that "when one mentions action I must admit to some confusion." He went on to weigh the probably impossible ideal of unilateral disarmament against the more pragmatic approach, effecting change in foreign policy through a political process. Surely some disarmament would be better than none (*Record*, September 22 and October 6, 1961).

But if the able analyst Alan Kreider was frankly uncertain about which course to advise, he left no doubt as to his conviction that the Christian should leap into the political arena to engage the agonizing choices. In a volume of the *Record* edited by Robert Martin and assistant editor Rachel Yoder, a patient, explanatory editorial entitled "Urbis and Orbis" argued for the need to determine the relationship of one's local spot to the universe—and exemplified in mature terms the extent to which this view was gaining dominance among students. Students are concerned about mankind's ability to blow itself up, the writer commented.

Dining hall conversation that begins 'I have relatives in Holmes County, too' often proceeds to 'What have you heard about Hammarkjold's crash?' and ends with 'But what can we do about it?'

To be sure, students were finding some answers: Sunday school classes were addressing peace problems, there were work drives conducted for a new library, and for troubled Nigeria. "These efforts could be called ditties whistled in the dark, the idealism of little Pollyannas," the editorial writer concluded.

But as we concern ourselves with the world's problems—hunger, fear, technology, ethical action—and as we work for understanding in our personal lives, we are doing something. Not much? Desperate men clutch for the straws of sensible hope. Our faith, if active on political and personal levels, can be the world's hope (*Record*, September 22, 1961).

The eloquence and substance of such a statement helps one understand why Bible professor Norman Kraus, asked the following spring why he taught at Goshen, responded, "Goshen College is the growing edge of the Church" (*Record*, March 16, 1962).

To some in the church, and even within the seminary and college, however, such expressions felt more like growing pains than a growing edge. Similar sentiments spoken forty-two years earlier by Goshen students, alumni,

and other Mennonite relief workers at a Mennonite Young People's Conference at Clermont-en-Argonne, France, had also caused discomfort. Those voices of 1919 had risen, not in response to the threat of an ultimate nuclear annihilation, but out of the harrowing rubble of an actual cataclysm. Like the young thinkers of Clermont, there were several faculty at Goshen during the 1950s who found Mennonite theology, at least in its twentieth-century institutional embodiments, to be monolithic, even stifling. J. Lawrence Burkholder, for example, described the state of American Mennonite theology he discovered upon return from China in 1949 as "amazingly fixed, entrenched, institutionalized, confident and triumphant." "What was especially disturbing," Burkholder went on to reflect about the time, "was the fact that questions were treated as signs of disloyalty to the tradition. . . . In the early 1950s, Goshen seemed closed to criticism. The Anabaptist vision was final and definitive. . . . To question was self-recriminating."²⁰ In either case, 1919 Clermont or 1950s Goshen, the call for Mennonite ideology to confront the terrible actualities of a war-addicted civilization, at the expense, if necessary, of conventional Mennonite separatism, troubled those within the academy or seminary who believed the church should and could remain apolitical and uninvolved with worldly methods, no matter what the circumstances. Meanwhile, some of the most conservative critics from outside Goshen College continued to train a skeptical eye on the notion of any graduate-level training for Mennonite pastors. Within the context of these differences of Mennonite opinion, Professor J. Lawrence Burkholder left Goshen College and Biblical Seminary to accept a position at Harvard Divinity School early in 1961.²¹

The students keenest to invigorate a Mennonite "world citizenry" in late 1961 urged a Peace Action against further nuclear testing that would attempt to directly confront lawmakers on the issue. Tatsuo Suzuki, Alan Kreider, and Stan Reedy authored the proposal that "a group of students voluntarily go to Washington soon after Congress convenes. . . . They will carry placards during a three day period of fasting, and attempt to speak to as many Congressmen as possible. . . ." Students sharing the concern against nuclear testing who could not go to Washington were encouraged to fast on campus, as well as write letters to President Kennedy, Congress, their home communities and officials of the city of Goshen. "We would simply repeat our belief that Christians must face the dilemmas of our world, not as spectators but as participants in the fullest sense. We can do no less" (*Record*, December 1, 1961).

Here again, however, diverse views on Mennonite political activity came to the surface. A group of students, with faculty member Norman Kraus, did travel to Washington to make a case against nuclear testing in February 1962. The gesture itself generated a certain romantic appeal, especially as represented in a *Record* news photograph depicting Goshen's clean-cut

“peace ambassadors” in khaki raincoats, moments before Kirk Alliman’s interview with Indiana Congressman John Brademas; the college men posed intently around a typewriter they had balanced on a ledge of the House Office Building (March 2, 1962).

But the outpouring of general Goshen College support the group apparently hoped for before the trip never occurred. As Rachel Yoder noted on February 2, 1962, of 900 students, only 150 had bothered to sign a statement approving the Peace Action (*Record*, February 2, 1961). Yoder reproved students for allowing apathy to prevent them from signing, but it was also likely that under the apathy lay ambivalence, or outright opposition, toward Mennonite placard-waving before the halls of political power. For some there was simply uncertainty about where widespread, revived political awareness might lead the church.

The articulate student thinkers of the early 1960s talked in terms of action rooted in Christian conviction, and used phrases like “work for peace.” We tend to associate such vocabulary with the Goshen College of the late 1960s. But that late-1960s period of widespread political activity, more notorious and thus more often in the historical limelight, had its precedent in the more tightly buttoned, but serious surge of political interest that occurred at Goshen around 1960-1962.

That surge of broader political interest seemed to parallel an expanded range of campus religious expression. Even the shape of the new College Church broke with tradition: the new circular sanctuary allowed worshippers to view a service from many angles, at the same time forming a unified circle around the Cross. The campus around this time seemed to relax its expectation of uniformity in religious experience or discussion. Two incidents occurring within a month of one another in 1959 illustrate the range of opportunity for expressing faith at the end of the 1950s. On October 25, seventy students left campus in two chartered buses for the Indiana State Fair Coliseum to attend a session of the Billy Graham Crusade, and returned from the event “deeply impressed” by Graham’s sermon. Barely a month later, on November 29, the second Youth Forum, billed as “a philosophical discussion on the existence of God,” took place on campus. Chaired by Professor Lawrence Burkholder, a panel of three capable students assumed, for the purposes of argument, a range of theological positions not necessarily reflecting their own personal beliefs. The three debated the validity of the following conflicting philosophies: the view of the atheist (impersonated by Wally Shellenberger), of a believer in a limited God (the role given Marlin Miller), and of a Christian subscriber to the idea “that there is a God who has unlimited powers” (the position assigned to Alan Kreider). Apart from having chosen as their topic the existence of God, a question some would have considered eternally decided, the panel’s intellectual role-playing was daring, since the problem of “a regenerate person playing the

role of an unregenerate person" in dramatic performances happened to be under scrutiny right at the time the panel took place (*Record*, October 30, 1959; November 27, 1959).

Anabaptist studies provided one key to understanding the greater tolerance of religious variety observed in the 1950s. The college community's accumulated understanding of historical Anabaptism, especially as Harold Bender had outlined its essence in "The Anabaptist Vision" and in his classes on Mennonite history, had gradually shifted the focus of religious life. The Anabaptists' fundamental commitment to the concept of *nachfolge Christi*, or discipleship, had been brought to light and given great emphasis in Bender's and others' explications. Of course, following Christ in daily life had never left the center of Mennonite teaching. But decades of Mennonite revival meetings, campaigns against modernism, and pioneer mission enthusiasm had helped to promote the values of an evangelical personal salvation, and to emphasize powerful and inflexible standards of right thinking. Even though discipleship and a historical peace theology were also being disseminated, via Bender, Correll, Hershberger, and others, practically from the moment the college reopened, Goshen College's religious climate following 1923 had mirrored the evangelically-centered Mennonite home scene from which students came. Personal piety, a daily devotional schedule, visible evangelical work in the YPCA, Foreign Volunteer Band, Christian Worker's Band, and perhaps a vocational commitment to the mission field—these were the hallmarks of a student Christian of the 1930s or 1940s.

By 1960, the focus on personal salvation and public orthodoxy had shifted to the lifelong pilgrimage of the disciple and the life of the church community, concepts cultivated patiently over decades by Guy Hershberger in his teaching and writing. Mission priorities had gradually accommodated in a more formal way the relief of physical suffering as part and parcel with a ministry to souls. Increasingly, the growing edge of Mennonite outreach came to be the question of how mission should address root injustices in the social structure. Pressures in the larger church to maintain a uniform evangelical expression of personal faith had eased somewhat. Younger professors such as C. Norman Kraus, Calvin Redekop, J. Richard Burkholder, and Mary Eleanor Bender, who had all earlier studied at Goshen and were vigorous interpreters of Anabaptist Christianity, also used contemporary terms to stretch students' thinking about the demands of faith. The group publishing the *Concern* pamphlets, meanwhile, continued to argue for an even more radical rediscovery of historical Anabaptism.

Students tended to express their faith in less formulaic terms than had been the case a generation earlier. In 1954, for example, writers for the *Maple Leaf* announced, "Christianity is no molded pattern but each must find his truth and light," a sentiment more reminiscent of Old Goshen thirty

years earlier than of the college's previous decade. The 1961 *Maple Leaf* spelled out more completely a change in campus piety. The shift was from faith-as-salvation to faith-as-discipleship, from a mode of certitude to one of existential search:

Christian discipleship is the point of reference for the complex life of Goshen College. . . . Christ's demands upon the scholar kindle controversial and influential conversation.

Religion is seen not as the spectacular, or the bizarre, but as the workable, personal commitment, the answer to the moral and spiritual dilemmas encountered in serious study.

The imperceptible spiritual growth is epitomized in special weeks of emphasis on Peace, Missions, Service, and Non-Conformity. . . .

To think of one's commitment as "workable," or one's spiritual growth favorably as "imperceptible," implied an acceptance of the need to bear one's faith into the often untidy midst of life: culture, arts, politics, come what may.

All the while, academics blossomed. Perhaps the rich vitality of learning in these early years of the 1960s, a brilliant beginning that presaged a cornucopia of academic riches through the decade, reflected a campus community taking greater freedom to plunge its faith fearlessly into scholarly life. Interdisciplinary cooperation yielded exciting and fruitful results. An Honors Seminar being piloted in the winter of 1961 met Thursday evenings and concluded with cake and coffee. Its subject was "The Climates of Opinion in the Latter Seventeenth Century": one session might find Professor Fisher discussing "The Theme of Appearance and Reality" in literature of the period, the next Professor Mary Oyer demonstrating viol technique, the next a student participant, a peer among fellow scholars, delivering her report. At their best, academics during the years 1960-1962 evidenced earnest conscientiousness rewarded by joy.

One indicator of the high level of performance, as it ran across many campus departments, would be a sampling of programs on the college-operated radio station, WGCS, for November 18-30, 1961. The programming included folk music, students reading poems by Robert Frost, a Faculty Forum discussion, a Student Roundtable addressing "The Christian's Attitude Toward Bomb Shelters," and a book review program examining Albert Camus' novel, *The Plague*. These Goshen radio productions drew on the energy and vision of Program Director Roy Umble, the technical expertise of station General Manager and Chief Engineer Jacob Swartzendruber, the musical direction of Professor Lon Sherer, and the confident poise of gifted students. Here was stimulating, responsible broadcasting one might venture to put on a par with that of longer-established and better-endowed

liberal arts colleges, carried off by students whose home congregation might still view radio as a dubious influence.

Other extracurricular activities implied an impressive degree of concentration and talent among student scholars. An all-female cast undertook to perform Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* for their portion of the Open House program in 1960, "revamped. . . into a farce on a farce," as the show was described in the 1961 *Maple Leaf*. The following fall, the women took up excerpts from Leonard Bernstein's *West Side Story*. The director of the still-new, chamber-size orchestra, Lon Sherer, ambitiously set about organizing an annual Concerto-Aria Contest: its successful auditioners performed as soloists in concert with the orchestra. In the spring of 1962, the first edition of *foolscap*, a literary/arts magazine sponsored by the English department, came off the press.²² That *foolscap* had highbrow ambitions could be judged by the lower case "f" in its title. The staff later placed an advertisement, for the fourth issue of *foolscap*, in the February 13, 1965, issue of *The New Republic* magazine. The ad copy announced, in what was surely a first for *The New Republic's* pages, "an annual magazine of Menonite undergraduate introspection."

Significant steps were being taken as well toward the college's public recognition of the dramatic arts. In 1962, Professor of Speech Roy Umble was publicly listed as director of that spring's Adelpian-Vesperian spring play, Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. That Umble had directed a play was not news in 1962. Since Umble's arrival on the faculty in 1946, the door to campus drama had been gradually opening. Roy Umble promoted the strong forensic and oratorical tradition established at the early Goshen, and carried forward since 1925 by his father, John S. Umble. He had been rehearsing and directing student productions for years; some student productions that benefited from his involvement in the early 1950s, including Shakespeare, had been superb. Shortly after 1946, oversight of student dramatics had passed from the college's personnel department to the department of speech. President Mininger encouraged Umble to assist the student literary societies as they prepared plays. But up to this point in 1962, the practice of naming a student rather than a faculty director had signaled publicly that Goshen College sponsored no "official" dramatic productions. For Goshen to now publicly acknowledge faculty direction of a theatrical production was to tacitly confer greater official legitimacy on campus dramatics.

Of course, all of Goshen's serious-minded academic blossoming did not drive out the hunger for humor, leisure, and benign delinquency among students—or what was a snack shop for? That congested alley at the north end of the Union Building, bordered by booths, campus mail boxes, and a soda fountain counter, supplied students a temporary respite from care. Here food staples such as lemon ice cream, hot coffee, penny pretzels were

served with a smile by diminutive chef Stella Geiser. Some patrons became more snack shop-dependent than others; back in the late 1950s, *Record* columnist Don Marquis had spun a fantasy about a student who logged in progressively more hours in its booths until he eventually took up residence there.

In 1963, editor Rhoda Amstutz opened that year's *Maple Leaf* with an ode to briefcases, an oddly humble subject. Yet in elevating for gently humorous praise the trusting campus habit of committing precious books and term papers to one another's collective care, Amstutz managed to offer a little ephiphany of Goshen College life:

When briefcases punctuate the webwork of sidewalks and telegraph by their complacency, "We are safe," you are experiencing Goshen. These, our personified satchels, everywhere dot the campus, reflecting each its special owner. . . . The winter snow-covered nine o'clock briefcase is perhaps the best symbol of the mutual trusts and obligations inhabiting the student body. For the scholar is never afraid to leave his tomes on the open campus as he briskly crunches to chapel in storm or sun, secure in the knowledge his books will remain untouched forever until he returns to dig them out of the drifts and hoist them away.²³

The collective voice of this yearbook staff was articulate, affectionate, self-assured, and playful: it captured an attitude that had gone somewhere beyond the cheerful earnestness of the previous five years, but not yet covered the distance to ironic skepticism. Compared to the urgent summons away from complacency issued by student leaders in 1959, the sentiments expressed by these writers sounded less preachy, more self-delighting. They fondly acknowledged the campus's remarkable gift of trust and at the same time tweaked its idiosyncrasies.

Allen Hershberger, writing copy for the same yearbook, offered some additional Goshen symbols: "the midnight typewriter; the two o'clock dorm light; coffee, black; feverish scholarship minutes before tests; and long hours searching for a particular item in labyrinthine library stacks." To these Hershberger added the dam, "pseudo-beatniks," and Schlosser's Soda Shop at the intersection of Main and Franklin Streets. Then Hershberger summed up the year with a vision of the Goshen College liberal arts that vibrated, across seven decades, with Coffman's "Spirit of Progress":

For amid all these important little trivialities and occasionally trivial big things, we find our standards for judgment and life. For us, all the spider-webbing sidewalks and Brussels sprouts and maple leaves and voice recitals somehow seem to jell for a moment, all the test tubes and microscopes, cycloids, ceramics,

[prayer] coverings, all the dissections and indefinite integrals suddenly melt and flow into a unity that has significance.

Marlin Miller's impassioned 1959 rhetoric ("Where is the Eureka! of a challenging discovery in the Arts, Sciences, and Bible?") was here pointedly satisfied.

From almost any angle, Goshen College's fortunes looked bright in the fall of 1962. Paul Mininger was entering his ninth year as president. Five buildings had been added to the campus in that time, and more were planned, including a new library. Enrollment was still climbing. A college planner with an eye to long-range student recruitment might have noted appreciatively a *Record* "Who's Whose" column published in September that cited fifty-four couples married since commencement (*Record*, September 21, 1962).

President Mininger himself inspired confidence in Goshen's future. He was a reassuring president to Mennonite constituents. Since 1943, he had been an ordained bishop in the North Goshen Mennonite Church, the result of a mission Sunday school that Goshen College students had organized in 1930. In 1953, just before assuming the college presidency, Paul Mininger had been named moderator of the Mennonite General Conference. Perhaps even more crucial to the improvement of local Mennonites' impression of the college was the fact that before becoming president, like J.C. Wenger, his colleague in the Biblical Seminary, he had served within the Indiana-Michigan Conference structure, from 1945 to 1948 as its moderator. Given his denominational responsibilities, his plain garb (in the first part of his presidency), his academic field, and perhaps in some minds, the fact that most of his own undergraduate education had taken place at Hesston College, the church trusted President Mininger's commitment to shape the college as its "handmaid," a role for the college he had described in his inaugural address.

On campus, Mininger cut an imposing figure. His father, J.D. Mininger, had directed the Kansas City Mission, and thus Paul Mininger, unlike every Goshen College president before him, had grown up in a city rather than on a farm. His countenance was unflappable. He had devised an efficient system of planning and communication among his administrative staff. He was in a stage of life similar to students' own parents', and in fact had children of his own at Goshen College. His manner was deliberate and rather grave, conveying in his bearing a bit of the pomp and sobriety of his office. He was a thinker, not known for impetuous judgments. He was not garrulous, and thus did not strike every student or faculty member as especially personable. But the public's perception was not always a complete one. A student or faculty member, consulting Mininger individually, discovered a listener with gifts of perception and humor.

Indeed, in the fall of 1962, President Mininger exemplified stability. He did so, fortunately, at the outset of a run of years visited repeatedly by evidence of change and instability. If editor Amstutz and her staff in 1962-1963 chose the ubiquitous campus briefcase as one yearbook motif, they balanced that reassuring symbol with an image of flux, a metaphor of campus life as whirling kaleidoscope: "Look, look, but look well; because in a minute or a month the kaleidoscope will turn, the pattern will shift, and shift again, and shift again. . . ." ²⁴ The event that soon fulfilled that image of a turning world, and heralded a fragmenting society, was the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

Institutions, like individuals, absorbed indelible memories of how they had heard, and responded to, the news that President Kennedy had been killed in Dallas. The death of John F. Kennedy, the young candidate Goshen College voters had roundly rejected just three years earlier, struck the campus with heavy and lasting impact. In spite of their shock, however, professors appear to have followed a stoic instinct to get through their duties. Word of the shooting came shortly after noon. President Mininger found himself in a Washington, D.C. hotel room, working out details of future Goshen employment with biologist Merle Jacobs. ²⁵ Professor Millard Lind, whose family, as it happened, had just obtained their first television set, picked up the broadcast at his Eighth Street home. He remembered heading for campus and wandering the halls of the Seminary Building, debating whether to interrupt his colleagues' classes but finally deciding against it. Professor John Oyer received news of the assassination in the midst of a history class lecture and completed the session with some difficulty, appearing to class members, as one student told him later, distinctly ashen-faced behind the lectern. Professor Mary Bender heard of Kennedy's assassination in the Administration Building, just as she entered a third floor classroom to teach; she decided the class would somehow have to go on. ²⁶

Perhaps inspired by their faculty's example of steadiness and perseverance under duress, by Monday, November 25, a student-initiated response to this almost incomprehensible event had appeared. *Record* editor Gerry Lichti and his associate Kirk Alliman had assembled an extraordinary document: a special, single-sheet edition of the *Record*, which the offices of the local *Goshen News* had printed under severe time restriction and without charge. Arranged around a photograph portrait of Kennedy were ten articles: three by students and seven by faculty. The fact that the writers were limited by a practically instant deadline meant that they gave fairly direct reactions, whose eloquence, restraint, and gravity of thought were all the more remarkable for their spontaneity. John Fisher wrote on the tradition of commemorative poetry, Millard Lind on forgiveness, Norman Kraus on the violence of the times, John Howard Yoder on the victory of the resurrection, John Oyer on the Christian need to embrace suffering, Marlin

Jeschke on human history and government, J. Richard Burkholder on the opportunity of America to see itself in the light of judgment as well as of privilege. Student work included a poem by Rhoda Amstutz and musings by student John C. Yoder, who concluded that the "god" students had made of Kennedy was dead, but "God is not dead."

More arresting yet than the naturalness with which students and faculty collaborated in this crisis, or than the phenomenon of a politically ambivalent community confronting with deep emotion this political event, was the spirit in which the editors announced these efforts. In and between the lines of their editorial can be found both the quintessential voice of student Goshen, circa 1963, and a salutation to the coming times:

Beyond the political sentiment and press coverage which has engulfed the [Dallas] incident is a deep need for a redefinition in terms of our faith. We are doing this [special edition] because Goshen College, being a Mennonite Christian college, advocates a unique position towards life, death, and the state. The occasion has risen in which it becomes our decidedly serious obligation and responsibility to express our unique position and to examine its continued relevance.

We are attempting to follow the first reaction of sentimentalism and curiosity with a more sound approximation of a Christian interpretation. The explicit intention of this issue is to channel our energies from hate, hasty judgment, fear, and confusion, in an attempt to structure our emotions and thinking at a deeper level (*Record*, November 25, 1963).

The assassination of President Kennedy was first in a series of shocks delivered from the political realm during the next decade, shocks shared by Goshen, of course, with the rest of the country. Atlee Beechy described how political events in these years had a way of "dipping into" campus routine and disturbing people's mundane priorities.²⁷ Many domestic events in the news forced college students, and American society generally, to confront varieties of corruption, hatred, and violence formerly believed not to exist in the United States.

In contrast to the dramatic shock of the Kennedy assassination, the conflict in Vietnam became for Goshen faculty and students a source of frustration and dread. The situation presented Goshen College by the Vietnam War paralleled in some ways that of World War I in 1918: Mennonites who had been squaring off in the seemingly-adversarial camps of progressive social involvement and denominational separatism suddenly found themselves sharing the common ground of nonconformity when they regarded American involvement in an overseas war. English professor S.A. Yoder, with his wife, Ethel, spent 1962-1963 at the University of Hue, Viet-

nam, as a Fulbright scholar. Once back at Goshen, Yoder could offer firsthand analysis of the summer's crisis in Vietnam, reporting his misgivings about U.S. support of the Ngo Dinh Diem government. In the fall of 1965, three carloads of Goshen students traveled to Washington, D.C., to join a peace march protesting American involvement in the war—a response three times greater, at least in terms of physical presence, than that of 1962, when the handful of “peace ambassadors” staged their protest against nuclear testing. There was not total unanimity on the question of Vietnam, and opinion was most clearly divided in the early years of the United States’ involvement. One highly-respected faculty member who delivered a convocation address entitled “My Uneasy Conscience Concerning Vietnam” found that, while some colleagues praised his courage for giving such a talk, at least one faculty member asked why he had not better represented “the other side” of the issue. The speaker responded by pointing out his concern that the “other side” of Vietnam enjoyed regular coverage in the newspapers every day.

Beginning in the spring of 1967, a group of seminary students began weekly vigils at the Elkhart County Courthouse they vowed would continue until the war ended. A Vietnam Study Day held April 21, 1967, interrupted academic business-as-usual to provide greater understanding to students and faculty of developments in southeast Asia. Dean Carl Kreider headed a committee to plan this day of lectures and discussions, and brought to campus Senator George McGovern, among others. The event stood out for participants as a creative response to a drawn-out crisis taking slow-motion effect on the community.

To young men at Goshen who were drafted, the ongoing question of whether students should involve themselves politically became instantly less abstract. Once drafted, one was involved. “Never have college students walked toward mailboxes with more mixed feelings than they do now,” student Dan Rocovits observed (*Record*, March 11, 1966). Provisions for members of historic peace churches to obtain the military’s I-W status, that of the conscientious objector, had been arranged with the U.S. government long before, in anticipation of World War II conscription. The extensive, well-organized alternative service program carried out during that time had been viewed by Mennonites as far superior to the improvised, ill-prepared counsel provided Mennonite conscientious objectors during World War I. When the draft was again instituted in the 1960s, the church generally assumed that its young men would again become conscientious objectors under the government program. And this was indeed by far the most frequent response by Mennonite draftees.

But some Goshen students and, of course, students around the country, questioned “the compatibility of conscience and conscription,” as the choice was presented at one 1969 campus forum. The lack of unanimous

support for the government-sanctioned conscientious objector alternative might be explained by a number of reasons. Not all young people of draft age in the mid- to late-sixties had fathers or mothers who had taken part in alternative service during World War II and gave direct testimony to the rationale and worth of draining Maryland swamps, fire-jumping in Colorado, or tending to patients of state psychiatric wards in the name of alternative government service.²⁸

The particular characteristics of the Vietnam War itself also made some students loath to cooperate with the U.S. government, in any capacity. The war presented a more ambiguous political scenario than had the battle against Adolf Hitler's Nazis. And, as we have seen, the college since the 1950s had maintained a kind of constructive resistance to the more extreme anxieties about communism. The increased global experience and thinking among Mennonites in the years since World War II made the American government's participation in the wreckage of a far-off Asian country unpalatable. Faculty mentors were models of concern and, sometimes, action regarding U.S. policy in Vietnam. Atlee Beechy in late 1965 was called upon—"drafted," as a student put it—to travel to Saigon where he coordinated Protestant relief efforts in the country through Mennonite Central Committee. And an antiestablishment mood among young people emboldened students to come out against the draft. Goshen students who called conscription into question had plenty of support, at least rhetorically, from American youth culture—a very different situation from that of the generation who had chosen alternative service in the 1940s.

Finally, in the decision by some to oppose the Vietnam War, and, in some cases, to risk imprisonment by resisting registration, one must credit the students' own powers of reflection and conviction. Though surrounded by a popularly countercultural sentiment against the war, and faced with their church's traditionally nonresistant expectations, Goshen students did not necessarily have a response to Vietnam handed to them. Many, after all, came from conservative regions where congregations, grandparents, even parents, staunchly supported law-and-order tactics in the face of domestic unrest, feared the communist threat, and supported Richard Nixon—both in 1960 and 1968. Student writing and discussion during the war gave support to the idea that at Goshen, having once drawn on many available resources, "the truly concerned person is often able to think for himself" (*Maple Leaf*, 1963).

In the case of actual resistance to the U.S. draft—refusal either to be conscripted, or to affirm the criteria required of a religiously-motivated conscientious objector—a few students gave yet another twist to the political involvement puzzle. They determined after study that the church's standard response to the draft, that of seeking conscientious objector status, was inconsistent with what the church said about other kinds of politics.

Mennonites in theory claimed to avoid political entanglements and compromises. To obtain exemption from combat by complying with a government-sanctioned plan, some students of the question argued, implied a greater political compromise than to decline cooperation completely.

By the late 1960s, a period in which many norms of social behavior and notions of an American way of life were whirling rapidly, the Mennonite Church found itself with a number of intense, long-haired youths in its midst, whose serious stance regarding conscription challenged the Anabaptist authenticity of the I-W option. Ironically, these angry radicals claimed to have tapped a vein of purest Mennonitism, again echoing clashes at Goshen in the early 1920s.

In August of 1969, several of their representatives traveled to Turner, Oregon, bent on presenting a case for church support of draft resistance to the Mennonite General Conference assembled there. What could have proved a rancorous High Noon between two mutually misunderstood generations took a remarkable turn toward reconciliation. Devon Leu, one of the Goshen draft resisters who attended the meetings, brought back to campus in September 1969 an account revealing his own humble surprise at the outcome. Leu wrote that he and his fellow resisters had so fully expected rejection by the assembled Conference that on the way to Oregon they had discussed a plan to take over the proceedings, should they be denied access to the sessions. And they did encounter frank challenges to their position on conscription when they first arrived. But both sides at Turner soon discovered that their actual differences of opinion were peripheral to, and less important than, the draft. They had more to do with—of all things—nonconformist dress.

Significantly, President Miner, who after fifteen years as president of Goshen College had announced his intent to resign the post in 1970, startled the students by coming to their defense. "The surprises began in an early meeting with the executive council, where much support was evidenced and we were well accepted as individuals," Leu wrote. "There, President Miner, whom most of us had labeled as conservative, supported us strongly, chiding our detractors for their 'quibbling.' (That [conservative] label fell off [Miner], along with some other preconceptions about this man that some of us from Goshen College had carried along.)"

One delegate asked bluntly, surely lifting up the sentiments of hundreds of Mennonites parents, "Why don't you cut your hair and dress normally?" But the same man, Leu reflected, bought meal tickets for the young men for the rest of the week to allow them to speak directly to delegates as they ate together. The scruffy, unofficial conference "delegates" camped in tents on the meeting grounds of official Mennonitedom, and found a welcome there. Reverend George R. Brunk II, whose father had exerted tremendous energy telling Mennonites to resist following mainstream American

clothing styles, was quoted as saying, "I met with these young men. I have come to understand them and am convinced of their sincerity. If we can only look past the hair I think they have something to say to us. After all, some people are offended by my appearance too." Leu continued with his report:

We [draft resisters] also learned to accept others. We went to Turner expecting and in part desiring confrontation. But soon we came to recognize that it was the reconciliation that followed confrontation that was important. . . . Delegates who did not necessarily agree with our position voted to support us as Christian brothers because together we had learned a little about tolerance, acceptance and understanding (*Record*, September 19, 1969).

This testimony to communication and acceptance across the Mennonite generations might be viewed as an indicator that times and tempers would again change at Goshen College. The Vietnam War underlay much of the anger and malaise expressed by students from the mid-1960s on. The surprises at Turner revealed the possibility that the Mennonite Church was capable of embracing members of seemingly distant quarters if those members united around a central passionate concern.

Vietnam came to dominate American campuses by the latter part of the decade. But at Goshen, student restlessness and an interest in youth activism had begun several years before the military draft pushed Vietnam to the center of young people's lives. Early in April 1963, six Goshen participants prepared to travel to Atlanta, Georgia, to attend a seminar called "The Church on Frontiers of Ferment" sponsored by the National Christian Student Federation. The conference's title more or less announced the agenda for the coming times at Goshen. That period would feature campus morale quite different from the robust, upbeat involvement of the early 1960s. The new student face might, on occasion, display heedless mirth. More often, the visage taking shape after 1963 wore an expression of intelligent disaffection. Whether tagged apathy, anxiety, or rebellion, the mood colored student thinking and expression. Faculty, students, and administrators attempted to provide explanations for the changed demeanor.

The way for new ideas had been opening on campus to some extent in the previous few years as certain long-standing traditions and influences faded or vanished. In the case of the literary societies, which had been disbanded, and the YPCA, which had been reorganized under a different name, the college parted with traditions that had virtually reconstituted themselves in other forms more useful to a growing, more diverse student body. The Y had been reorganized as the Student Christian Association,

an organization pointedly devoted to student religious life and less comprehensively responsible for students' nonacademic development than it had been in the past. Literary society functions had been superseded by more centrally coordinated, campus-wide events. Even the societies' annual dramatic productions were now only nominally under the literaries' sponsorship, since leading roles were increasingly being filled by nonmembers. All the same, loyal Adelphians, Auroras, Vesperians, and Avons who read in a September 1961 editorial, "Yes, literaries have had their day Why keep something we no longer need? Let's abandon them!" must have felt nostalgic pangs for the literary societies' glory days (*Record*, September 21, 1961). By the fall of 1963, the annual Work Drive fund-raiser had also ground to a halt.

The death on September 22, 1962, of Harold S. Bender constituted a loss of a part of Goshen College's living identity. At the time of his illness and death from cancer, Bender was a major Mennonite leader. He filled numerous, highly visible roles, among them dean of Goshen's seminary, editor of the *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* and the four-volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, and moderator of Mennonite World Conference. He had contributed in large part to the development of all of these institutions. For decades he had addressed himself effectively and with titanic energy to needs he discerned in the church. His close associate, Robert Friedmann, reflected in a memorial tribute that "Harold S. Bender was no ordinary 'important personality.' He was an event."²⁹ Jason Martin, a seminary student at the time of Bender's death, reflected on Bender's legendary capacity for work: "We [in the church] gave him too much to do. The only way even such a brilliant man could approach the mountain of work given him was the approach of a bulldozer at full throttle" (*Record*, October 5, 1962).

Since joining the faculty in 1924, Bender had conducted a great volume of official college business. But in addition to spearheading the effort to achieve NCA accreditation and developing the seminary, he had cared for Goshen's growth in quieter, more intimate, less easily measurable ways. Alongside Bender's public, institutional monuments, alumna Elaine Sommers Rich wrote, "The invisible monuments are no less real. How does one measure the influence of a long-ago term address in chapel on Jesus' words, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'?" (*Maple Leaf*, 1963). Seminarian Martin reflected that even though one's dominant mental image recalled Bender "striding down concrete walks or institutional corridors" en route to some new task, "It wasn't hard to stop him. If you touched his arm or said, 'Dean Bender,' you had his total concentration in a moment." Simply the fact that alumni from 1925 on repeatedly rated Bender's courses as having made the deepest impression on them spoke to the diffusion of his ideas in student lives as well as on documents.

One must acknowledge plainly that, as in the realm of Bender's official institutional activity, his intangible influences at Goshen College form a rather complicated legacy. Some of the complications involved problematic, even painful, encounters with faculty and fellow administrators, as well as with students. In the midst of the predominantly affirmative tributes at the time of Bender's death, there were also scattered allusions to heartfelt disagreement or relinquished independence. It could hardly have been otherwise, given the man and his setting—a figure of racing intelligence and vision who had been actively involved in shaping the “new” Goshen. He was accustomed to applying his passionate, often insistent, point of view in college affairs and student business. After his death, the college found itself moving forward without benefit of the advice of one who, at times, had been counted on to dictate its next move. Though the general student body of 1962 may not have immediately understood the change, the abrupt loss of Harold Bender from the Goshen College scene meant the loss of a unifying intellect.

Around 1963, the campus's thinkers, movers, and shakers were beginning to shift their political attention to problems closer to home than the balance of power in the Congo or China, closer even than the stockpiled missiles on Cuba of the previous fall. The announced purpose of the 1963 National Christian Student Federation conference, for example, was to “bring college students into the midst of the needs of our changing society, especially as these needs are seen in the city, and then to focus on what the church is or is not doing to meet these needs of the world around us” (*Record*, March 29, 1963). Increasingly, the issue of race relations, America's central domestic social problem, occupied center stage in Goshen political concerns. This theater was largely the U.S. South, where Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. and others continued to press for civil rights. But northern urban poverty, in its obvious reflection of racial disparity, also invited the scrutiny of socially conscious students. Thus some sixty years after M.S. Steiner founded the Chicago Home Mission, the city again recommended itself to progressive young Mennonites as an arena where the church might address itself to pressing social needs.

An increasingly local political focus meant a closer examination of the political actions of one's own people, however unwitting those acts or attitudes might be. The process can be observed in comments by *Record* editor Gerry Lichti on the bombing of a Birmingham church in which children had died. Lichti deplored the act, then suggested that Alabama governor George Wallace might himself take responsibility for the children's murder, since his attempts to prevent integration in Alabama schools helped perpetuate race hatred. From Wallace, Lichti turned to point his finger at the college audience, suggesting that “each of us is the murderer of those children. All of us who stood by passively and watched the impending con-

flict caused by a minority demanding its just rights in a just manner. . . we all killed them" (*Record*, September 13, 1963).

A more concrete opportunity for understanding racial tensions came in the spring of 1963, with the announcement of an exchange program between Goshen and two predominantly Black schools, Tougaloo Southern Christian College in Mississippi, and Morehouse College in Georgia. By September 1963, sophomore Lawrence Jefferson of Morehouse was spending a year at Goshen, and Goshen's Howard Zehr was enrolled at Morehouse. Goshen student Eli Hochstedler wrote in November from Tougaloo College, where his peers were currently being arrested for trying to integrate local churches (*Record*, November 8, 1963).³⁰

Other opportunities for involvement in the issue presented themselves. In April 1964, the Peace Society sent a group to Chicago for a week of first-hand observations of segregation and urban conditions. The same month, seventeen students, accompanied by Professor J.R. Burkholder, picketed South Bend's Pick-Wallace Hotel, where Governor George Wallace himself was staying, to protest Wallace's efforts to kill the Civil Rights Bill. John Howard Griffin, the author of *Black Like Me*, visited campus in October 1964. In March of the following year, five Goshen students—Ron Mininger, Dick Brunk, Deloss Schertz, Sam Steiner, and Marv Eash—traveled to Alabama to participate in the civil rights march on Montgomery. The trip through the South, the hostile stares at a car full of northerners, the march itself, the message delivered by Dr. King: these constituted a political awakening for several of the Goshen participants.³¹

Most to the point in the minds of Mennonite students was the question of whether the church and Goshen College were engaged in relevant work. Issues like urban poverty or civil rights seemed more urgently to require jurisprudence and civil disobedience, than they did evangelization or church planting. The possibility that a truly relevant education would respond to individual interest and aptitude, rather than impose predetermined norms, also began to take hold among students.

Closely related was the opposition taking shape against Goshen's "academic pressure." Early in 1963, Ken Brubaker suggested that a curriculum better geared to each student's pace would relieve mental and physical stresses (*Record*, January 11, 1963). A year later, two editorials perceived a conflict between an ideal of liberal education and the methods employed in its pursuit, such as degree requirements and "objective" testing methods. To relieve the burden of "academic pressure," the first incarnation of a series of student coffee houses opened on February 17, 1964, wedged into a storage space between the north end Union snack shop and the Union Lounge. Known as The Sack, its burlapped walls, inconsistently-shaped tables, and dripping candles offered a temporary escape from campus routine. A mild form of spoofery aimed at academic authority—photos of

professors in mid-lecture, to which students appended puckish captions—began to appear as an occasional *Record* feature in 1963, under the name “The Gadfly” (first appearance March 15, 1963).

In the fall of 1964, however, some observers diagnosed the student condition as more apathetic than biting. And some were ready to tar the faculty with the apathy brush: a wide-awake student offered to the discussion of apathy the fact that only 25 percent of faculty the previous spring had participated in spring elections of the new student government, Goshen College Community Government. Did too many demanding assignments perhaps crowd out genuine intellectual curiosity, some began to ask? True, students had recently rallied around a cause, so to speak—but five hundred students rushing to petition against monotonous dining hall menus struck at least one writer as disappointingly puerile (*Record*, November 20, 1964).

Professor Norman Kraus challenged students from the chapel rostrum not to neglect their mental diet as they clamored for something exciting to put in their stomachs. Kraus theorized that the mood hovering over campus was actually anxiety, masquerading as other problems like “apathy” or “academic pressure.” “The problem really is that the students don’t know how to express divergence of opinion and can think only in terms of rebellion. . . . Anxiety,” Kraus continued, “is focused on the wrong things, including grades” (*Record*, December 11, 1964). Student Eleanor Smith suggested briskly and perceptively that it was time for the Goshen community to stop “faking it” and to start to “love ourselves.” Falsely inflated notions of Goshen’s high-mindedness, so easily disappointed at the first sign of immaturity, mediocrity, or complacency, made it difficult for students to embrace the entire college family in all its humble reality (*Record*, December 11, 1964). That spring, Ron Hurst lamented, only half jokingly, the literal and moral headaches besetting a student mind:

Suddenly I began to think about the Race Problem, Red China, Religion, Communism, the Population Explosion, MediCare, Crime and Punishment, and Morals. . . . [and] realized how little I was and how my head hurt to think about the Race Problem, Red China, Religion, Communism, the Population Explosion, MediCare, Crime and Punishment, and Morals (*Record*, April 17, 1964).

The melancholic undertone of Hurst’s lament could be taken quite seriously. The political and social problems toward which students had been steered as the proper concerns of Christian intellectuals were all but overwhelming. Mennonite college students had few models for addressing a corrupt world in constructive, political terms. The good politician, Kennedy, had been killed. A 1963 alumnus, Jon Snyder, attempting in Mennonite PAX service abroad to assist in starting a university in the Congo, survived—

barely—to write about his month-long incarceration and near-execution by anti-American rebels in Stanleyville (Kisangani). He had narrowly escaped his captors under a hail of machine gun fire, but had nevertheless decided to remain in the country, “to help the university get on its feet” (*Record*, January 15, 1965). By virtue of attending Goshen College, a school Norman Kraus had called “the growing edge of the church,” students of the mid-1960s were indeed positioned on “the frontiers of ferment,” as far as recent Mennonite experience went. But the edge could be a dizzying, disorienting place.

At the same time, college mores were reinventing themselves year to year. One affected area was student entertainment. By 1965, the Goshen College that in 1960 had possessed a single, hard-to-find television set, now accommodated a throng of addicts of the series *The Fugitive*, who crowded into Kratz lounge to watch the program Tuesday nights. Prior to 1964, film offerings on campus were infrequent and largely innocuous, typified by *Stanley and Livingston*, a movie shown October 11, 1963: “Stanley, a newspaper reporter, is sent to Africa to interview the missionary Livingston. After a difficult search, Stanley reaches Livingston, who charges him with missionary responsibilities” (*Record*, September 13, 1963 and October 9, 1964). Even so, student activities personnel before showing a movie might find themselves peering at stretches of film, scissors at the ready to snip objectionable lengths of film. In the fall of 1964, however, a new professor, J. Daniel Hess, argued the preferability of wise selection over film censorship. Shortly thereafter, the college launched its first film series, including several works by Swedish director Ingmar Bergman. Henceforth, uncut films were shown at Goshen.³²

In the spring of 1965, a loosely organized fan club sent thirty-third birthday salutations to American novelist John Updike—an author being discussed in Goshen literature classes but unlikely to appear on the *Youth's Christian Companion's* list of recommended reading—and received Updike's personal reply.³³ As for students' tastes in musical entertainment, an update early in 1964 of British cultural developments relayed the essential information: “The Queen has the Beatles. . . . God save the Queen!” (*Record*, February 21, 1964).

At mid-decade, as some progressively-inclined students and faculty welcomed broad contacts with popular culture, others challenged Mennonite institutions to address political realities, and still others called into question the speed of Mennonite acculturation, the inquiring ghosts of Old and New Goshen made their inevitable rounds. Despite the comprehensive treatment President Mininger's inaugural address had given the issue back in 1954, compatibility between Mennonite faith and the liberal arts had not, after ten years, ceased to be an ongoing concern. A “Seminary Refractions” column by Marion Bontrager in 1963 included some cautious, and famil-

iar, questions. "Mennonite youth are now 'listening to, seeing and reading' the world," Bontrager mused. "Are they 'seeing' through the eyes of Christ? We must listen before speaking. But merely doing away with isolation will hardly make the Mennonite Church 'missionary.' Exposure to the world could be achieved better on a state university campus" (*Record*, February 1, 1963).

Students hoping in 1965 to glean from faculty the final word on Goshen's relation to church, world, and the future were confronted instead by a cordial public disagreement over the matter between seminary professor Millard Lind and Marlin Jeschke, a religion professor in the college. A passing comment by Jeschke on secular and Christian models of education, made in a lecture to his Christian Faith class, had prompted a student to seek fuller exposition of Jeschke's views. Goshen was moving in the direction of a secular liberal arts college, Jeschke stated plainly in an interview. The college needed to decide whether it was going to be, in fact, "the church," incorporating education in its churchly identity, or whether it represented a group of Christians living and working in the essentially secular area of education as they would in any number of such areas in the world. The latter model seemed to reflect reality, Jeschke thought. Goshen had throughout its history declined to embrace an exclusively Christian model, that of the Bible college, for example. To require religion courses and chapel attendance, as it continued to do, belied the fact that the college long ago had accepted many secular methods. Besides, Jeschke added, requirements such as these in an institution that obviously was not fully "the church" contradicted the Mennonite traditions of voluntarism and inner persuasion (*Record*, February 26, 1965).

Millard Lind responded to Jeschke with current evidence drawn from college life which, from his point of view, did illustrate the ideal of Anabaptist community—"the church at study" which Jeschke had argued simply was not Goshen's actual model. "Will Goshen College (and Biblical Seminary!) become merely a 'secular institution'?" Lind wrote. "Who can say? The Christian believes that God does blow upon our bones that we may live" (*Record*, March 12, 1965). Perhaps Christian education is by nature a hybrid of sacred and secular, Lind seemed to imply, bound to produce some false fruit as well as redemptive truth, but also worth the venture by a humbly human church.

One could picture this latest colloquy as the most recent spin of a gently oscillating, academic-ecclesiastical compass that had been set in motion in 1894 by H.A. Mumaw with his stenographers' institute, and oriented to different emphases throughout the eras of J.S. Coffman, N.E. Byers, S.C. Yoder, Ernest Miller, and finally of Paul Mininger, who surely viewed his institution, at least in ideal terms, as "the church at study."

And, despite their well-worn topic, neither Jeschke nor Lind had concluded the dialogue. Outside the spheres of Bible and religion, there was also uncertainty about where Goshen was going and what it should be. Five years earlier, as the Youth Forums got off the ground, various students had urged their peers to rise to an intellectualism and humanitarian concern worthy of their institution's motto. Now many student spokesmen complained of Goshen's unreasonable academic demands. Doubts crept in among the most critically attuned whether the institution itself lived up to its own ideals—an antiestablishment point of view not entirely unrelated to the *Zeitgeist*, of course. Since, in many cases, Mennonite students entered at Goshen College freer pastures than those of their homes, their impatience with local shepherds could at times seem ironically misplaced.

For Goshen students to question the college's authority, on its own terms of Mennonite authenticity, indicated a change of approach to school loyalty. Casting the college institutionally as antagonist rather than as benevolent ally indicated something new in the way Goshen students—or, to be precise, the most vocal, highest-profile students—viewed the college. There were parallels here to the student dissatisfaction voiced throughout 1923. Some noticed the connection. Yet when student Fred Hostetler suggested that parallel to his grandfather, S.C. Yoder, Yoder reportedly laughed, telling his grandson, "You folks are having a Sunday school picnic compared to what the College had to go through in my day" (*Record*, December 16, 1966). In 1923, students had reserved most of their heat for the Board of Education, taking on, by extension, the official Mennonite Church. By contrast, they granted heroic status to the mentors and authorities of their "inner" college world. Forty years hence, however, one could feel division stirring within the college walls among the various groups of those with common interest—division essentially between administration and students, with the faculty in some third camp between them.

The persistent notion that the college withheld true autonomy from students, even in their own sphere and endeavors, had arisen earlier in the decade, but was cited with more frequency and frustration as the decade wore on. Furthermore, students began to depict the college's cultivation of public relations as some sort of propriety-obsessed fakery. Dallas Rychener fumed in 1965, for example, that the college radio station WGCS "has become a pawn in the hands of the public relations department, whereby Goshen College is falsely presented as a colony of serene and studious puritans" (*Record*, February 26, 1965).

As time went on, student commentary along these lines contained kernels of noteworthy, if unfocused, anguish, buried in the outlandish rhetoric.

Our own legislature [GCCG or student government] has been suspended by those who declare themselves more qualified to judge our cases and legislate for us. Our puppet Senate is pulled

and swayed by the string in the hand of the strongman. Yet we [Mennonites] proclaim ourselves the harbingers of freedom to the world,

shouted Jim Miller in a column under the mocking rubric, "Pious Comments" (*Record*, November 28, 1966). Raising the conflict in church education between Mennonite orderly orthodoxy and libertarianism, if nothing else, qualified such a piece as more than juvenile rant. Likewise a column directed to faculty by the same agitated author, on the theory of student apathy: apathy, Miller insisted, is "not the trouble at all. . . . The pressure's just too great, man. I can't take time to live—I've got a grade to get. 'How can there be apathy? I give them a quiz every week!' That's just it old boy, you give 'em a grade each week and stifle the learning" (*Record*, November 11, 1966).

From writing like this, one takes away the certitude that something had to give, without a clear notion of what that something was. Students who displayed passionate opinion, being students, were also capable of self-contradiction. They were entitled, in the time-honored collegiate hiatus between adolescence and adulthood, to embody the paradox of the sophomore: wise fools. Coolly liberated thinking tripped innocently enough over the thrall of female beauty, for example, in the pages of the 1963-1964 *Record*. A (male) editor opined virtuously in the Valentine's issue that "To be loved, a woman does not have to be beautiful. She does need to be lovable, which is an entirely different thing." The opposite page, however, featured a large photo of the smiling, unmistakably beautiful freshman, Rachel Graber, "respond[ing] enthusiastically to the 'spring' thaw that sent the Elkhart River in a cascading rush over the dam" (*Record*, February 7, 1964). Her portrait added to a seasonal series that year that framed the faces of becoming coeds over captions like, "There's more around the corner than old man Winter. The twinkle in Barbara Hertzler's eyes promises more to the frigid season than arctic weather. Young men's fancies don't have to wait till spring" (*Record*, November 8, 1963). The election of cheerleaders, and of a Homecoming queen and court, continued alongside wisecracking denunciations from some quarters of such pursuits. Indeed, the antisocial, un-American rebel's bark could frequently oversell his bite.

This variety of confident confusion, of course, had practically been copyrighted by college students everywhere. Yet the edgy, angry passion coming across in various statements around 1965, to say nothing of the sentiments they conveyed, elicited concern. It transmitted something more serious than benign bluster. One might ponder, for example, the message telegraphed by the editor of the 1965 issue of *foolscap*, when she announced the periodical's theme: "alienation, dissonance and disintegration" (*Record*, January 16, 1965). Or the message sent in the fall of 1965 by a new student

band calling themselves, as if to embrace the inevitable accusations by their elders, "The Corrupters" (*Record*, October 22, 1965)

Not everyone agreed on the substance of student discontent. Following 1965-1966, a year that distinguished itself in the campus popular mind for its increased rule-breaking and decreased academic application, the administration went to work clarifying college regulations and policies. Diagnosticians set about explaining student behavior. Some targeted "apathy" once again. Not so, countered student Tom Harley, who usually said, very angrily, something worth listening to. "Students were at least 'un-apathetic' enough to reject college rules. The problem was not apathy; the problem was rebellion" (*Record*, September 30, 1966).

Others declined to dignify the student attitude by assigning it any single, unified purpose. When student writer Sara Ann Freed characterized student actions of the previous year as "decadent," Professor Theron Schlabach responded that, from the perspective of the lectern, "sphinx-like passivity" would better describe what he had observed. "When students are expressionless, who can say their attitudes are 'decadent'? They are only a riddle" (*Record*, September 30, 1966). By the fall of 1968, Professor Atlee Beechy was able to identify at least four types of students who attended Goshen College. There were the committed Christians, the searchers, and a small segment of students who chose to ignore Christianity altogether. Finally, Beechy concluded thoughtfully, "In still other cases it seems that those values which students so vigorously appear to be rejecting, they underneath are pulled toward and want and in their clumsy, unorthodox and often paradoxical way 'the thing they do is the opposite of what they really want.'" ³⁴ Nebulous and "paradoxical," Beechy's fourth category had accurately reflected the times.

When paired with unrest on the national front, student discomfiture at Goshen, whether viewed as riddle, rebellion, or what have you, could place the largely wholesome campus under a spell of gloom. In early 1966, after a showing of the Bergman film *Winter Light*, Professor John Fisher Jr. acknowledged the bleakness of the film's story, but ended his review of the film with circumspect appreciation, suggesting that "We ought not . . . be impatient with the view that somewhat diffidently affirms that the great darkness has not put out the small light," adding, "We can use all the light we can get" (*Record*, January 14, 1966). A 1966 *Maple Leaf* section devoted to student activities portrayed great vitality and involvement. But the section closed with a quieter afterthought, two practically empty pages surrounding the image of a lone walker and the tiny caption, "Yet, it's often a lonely world." By chance, that line echoed copy from the *Maple Leaf* of 1954. Then, however, rather than showing sensitivity to student loneliness, the copywriters had directed their concern toward dark nights of the soul they presumably expected to visit administrators and professors rather than un-

initiated youth. They had dedicated the 1954 yearbook to outgoing President Miller, commenting respectfully, "Leading a college is a lonely task. It is to plan, to guide, to look ahead, and sometimes to regret. It is a greater responsibility than anyone ever realizes."

If the campus was prey to disaffection, however, its light had not been extinguished. On the contrary, even as members of the community took seriously the various crises faced by students and the world, there was still ample evidence of growth, progress, and remarkable accomplishments. The 1967-1968 period, in fact, illustrated well the rhythm of crisis and response, disaster and redemption, that characterized these years. Enrollment continued to climb. Traffic entering and exiting the Administration building was heavy enough in 1966 to cause lines to form out on the sidewalks. Space for books and scholars in the Memorial Library of 1940 was fairly exhausted. In November 1962, the Board of Overseers had announced an ambitious plan for campus development. The planning team modestly acknowledged that they projected between 1300 and 1400 students enrolled at Goshen by 1970. The building plan included provisions for the eventual accommodation of 3500 students, though the board hastened to add that Goshen College had no such dimensions in view at the present. A briefly-considered plan for campus expansion featured a six-story women's dormitory, to be positioned on the lawn north of Coffman Hall; eventually, the plan changed to pair Orie O. Miller Residence Hall with its twin, Clayton Kratz Hall, joining C.Z. Yoder Hall in the complex of dorms across the tracks.

The North Central Association reviewed Goshen's accreditation for the first time since its initial awarding in 1941, reaccrediting the college in the spring of 1965. That was a reassuring confirmation of institutional health. But President Mininger had found himself standing virtually alone on one side of a difficult issue in 1964. The Higher Educational Facilities Act of 1963 had made available to colleges generous building grants and loans. Here seemed to be a source of ready money for the college's campus expansions. The Board of Education gave its approval to use of the funds. Some faculty concurred that the money constituted no hurdle to the college's principles.

But Mininger hesitated. He pointed out that acceptance of government money presented the college with fundamental questions he wanted to answer carefully. Would, for example, accepting the money compromise an institution whose church insisted historically on independence from the state, whose intent was to remain unambiguously Christian, and whose constituents' support might wither after such an accommodation with the government? As it happened, President Mininger answered "yes" to those questions; this type of government assistance would threaten the college's independence. Goshen did not accept any government funding for its building program at that juncture.³⁵

Mininger's faith that private individuals and the church would provide resources for expansion proved to be well-founded. In the fall of 1965, following the announcement of the college's plan to build a new library, a distinguished alumni couple, Harold C. and Wilma (Smucker) Good of East Lansing, Michigan, made a day trip to the campus. They were alumni who had graduated in the early 1920s, shortly before the college's closing. The couple had had little direct contact with the institution since, but they liked the students and institution they encountered, and on the very day of their visit offered one million dollars for the project.³⁶

The unexpectedness of the gift, and the lack of fanfare on the part of the Goods, added joy to the news. Those with an historical eye perceived in the Goods' magnanimity another symbolic restoration of ties between the pre-closing college and the institution it had become. Students, however obstreperous and critical some may have been in 1965-1966, took appreciative notice of this development. Many signed a simple thank you message to the Goods, a project coordinated by student Yvonne Kraus. Soon Kraus received a letter-poem in reply:

The Card you sent all signed and sealed
was real appropriate and appealed
in a most heart-warming way to us.

You're young, we're not
but we've learned too, when in a spot
that might move us to tears—or talk that's meaningless
to walk as tall as Man can walk
to live and learn one truth each day
and somehow manage to keep it gay.

We cherish the card and all who signed it
happy to share the love behind it.

— Wilma Good³⁷

When construction on the Good Library was completed, an all-campus work day on November 14, 1967 carried forward something of the affectionate spirit of that exchange between students and the college's benefactors. Classes were canceled. The library staff organized into a huge moving crew students, professors, and faculty family members who had trooped onto campus to help. Someone had the wit to dub the seventy supervisors "Prime Movers." Following arrows pointing the correct routes, volunteers shuttled books from the Memorial Library and the Seminary Building into the new building. Finally, at 3 p.m., everyone stopped for refreshments. Sensing the way such a day communicated Goshen's ideal of integrated values, Sue Clemmer penned a whimsical parable of the Mennonite liberal arts. She imagined, during the move, a meeting before the

front door of the Good Library of two fundamental texts, Plato's *Dialogues* and Menno Simons's *Complete Writings*. "Pausing briefly," she wrote, "they agreed to enter together" (*Record*, November 19, 1967).

Plato and Menno did seem to be striking fruitful bargains in many areas of learning and expression on campus. Two faculty members, S.A. Yoder and Roy Umble, had taught in Greece itself as Fulbright fellows in recent years. Atlee Beechy and Roman Gingerich were awarded Fulbright grants to work in India and Thailand. In 1963-1964, Dean Carl Kreider and his family spent a sabbatical year in Ethiopia, where Kreider held a Fulbright lectureship at Haile Selassie University. Student performance—the fruit of harmonious collaboration with fully-engaged professors—was reaching serious, accomplished levels. In May 1964, Professor James Miller directed two short operas, the first opera performed at the college by Goshen students. In 1967-1968, voice professor David Falk sang the role of the bird catcher Papageno with student vocalists in a successful mounting of Mozart's *Magic Flute*.

Two exciting dramatic productions framed 1965-1966, the year deemed so rebellious by some. That year, theater at Goshen wriggled free of its previous caution. Professor Wilbur Birky hailed this development enthusiastically when reviewing the fall production, Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*, praising the producers' wisdom in taking up a text offering comedy and a lighter tone (*Record*, November 26, 1965). Wilde's overripe amusement in that play at the games of propriety and romance, his slippery point of view, and covertly moral conclusions could not have better suited the moment. "I hope you have not been leading a double life, pretending to be wicked and being really good all the time," Cecily Cardew says primly to her suitor Ernest, "That would be hypocrisy." The idea that hypocrisy did not only exist in secretly-corrupted piety, but could also come in the form of less-than-genuine evil, presumably gave both angry students and their antagonized elders something to ponder.

The following spring, an interdisciplinary team of Professors John Fisher, Lon Sherer, and David Falk staged John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*. The year thus began and ended with dramas that satirically, rather than straightforwardly, conveyed their moral. Of course, the morals depicted in Gay's eighteenth century ballad opera were not those Goshen College theatergoers had often confronted. Across the stage milled a rakish highwayman hero, his admiring floozies, and a chorus of tankard-swigging tavern patrons (led in rousing song by Professor Dwight Weldy). But an extended campus preparation for the event tagged "Booking the Beggar"—everything from articles on Gay's political and social satire to lectures by a visiting scholar, David Veith—provided advance perspective. The final effect of ballad melodies, period costume, and the casting of ruggedly handsome novelist-professor Rudy Wiebe, singing romantic lead opposite students Elaine Gerber and

Viola Vogt, was irresistible. Assembly Hall was sold out for three performances.

So the paradoxical union of gloom and brightness continued with, one must keep pointing out, an additional twilight area occupied by students who eschewed political and academic extremes. Attempting in a Perspectives Week convocation series to analyze the generation gap, Professor Norman Kraus compared his generation's world, pre-1945, in which hardship and deprivation were known and more or less accepted, and the student's generation, in which continual change was the norm, and in which technology ostensibly could supply any need. Kraus feared that the present student idealism could end in disillusionment (*Record*, September 22, 1967).

And students were never unanimous in their views. In early spring 1966, representatives of Students for a Democratic Society, the largest radical student group in the country at the time, appeared for a dialogue on campus. The event triggered a public exchange on the values of SDS between Sam Steiner, who was a member of the organization, and Dwight Landis, a fellow student. Their disagreement centered on the familiar problem of Mennonite political expression. "Their ideas of peace making and social revolution were a refreshing change from a too typical dormant Mennonite pacifism," Steiner argued, expressing convictions about the church and peace that echoed thoughts another conscientious objector from Ohio, Orie Benjamin Gerig, had shared almost five decades earlier:

I am not ashamed to be called a stand-pat uncompromising conscientious objector on religious grounds. . . . I for one am in favor of having our church go down in history as out and out nonresistant, being opposed to aiding or abetting war in any way whatsoever.³⁸

Landis, for his part, concluded that SDS was more detrimental than beneficial to American society (*Record*, February 25, 1966; March 11, 1966; March 25, 1966).

The traditional church home for students, College Mennonite, also came in for criticism from some students around this time. They aired a general dissatisfaction with "inflexible tradition," "cold and impersonal services," and the gravest campus symptom in the eyes of impatient reformers, "irrelevancy." A special Sunday school class, held in an Administration building classroom, accordingly took up the topic "Church and Campus" in the fall of 1966. By February 5, 1967, the first Campus Church service, sponsored by the college's office of student ministries and its campus pastor, Harold Bauman, took place. Campus Church provided an occasion for students to gather for worship among peers and an opportunity for students to have a direct role in planning the themes and format of the services. Though it called itself "Church," Campus Church was not an independent

congregation in any official sense, but an alternative meeting for students; its services were scheduled in a way to allow any students, and interested faculty members, to attend the worship hours of both College Church and Campus Church.

At first glance, the free-form agenda of that initial Campus Church worship service—ballads, spirituals, a meditation on “Being Sensitive to Persons”—could invite hasty characterization as a trendy imitation of loose, negligibly Mennonite alternative forms. But the students planning Campus Church took seriously their conviction that Christianity required authentic expression. Students had relied on the counsel of Campus Pastor Harold Bauman and Professor of Physics Albert Meyer to shape a worship that would be true both to Mennonite and young people’s perspectives (*Record*, October 14, 1966 and January 13, 1967). And, given the popularity of disillusionment and agnosticism, one can also marvel today that restive students bothered creating any kind of alternative to their parents’ church. Through the clouds shadowing the times, Campus Church shone brightly indeed. And, in the gropings students and faculty made toward an authentic Mennonite informality, we recognize a foreshadowing of a full generation’s work, expanding the traditional forms of Mennonite worship. Some expansions that were radical in 1966 have thirty years later entered a canon of Mennonite tradition.

In contrast to the rural or small town locales familiar to most students, the urban world impressed some with its more obvious relevancy and its menacing allure. In the spring of 1967, a student delegate to the Intercollegiate Peace Fellowship attending with a fellow Goshen student submitted a frank report of a weekend at large in New York City, including observations of the city’s wild and inhospitable sides. The article concluded a bit ambivalently, “We were a long way from the sheltering walls of Goshen College” (*Record*, March 10, 1967). The same year, a student band playing Chicago-style blues, The Backdoormen, cut a record featuring an original tune called “Evil.” Tom Harley, caustically perceptive as ever, in the spring of 1967 reviewed unsentimentally the church’s role during the past decade’s civil rights struggle: “Even the quiet little Mennonites peeped cautiously out of their shells. The golden opportunity had come to show that Christ’s way was the way to conquer the world’s evils.” “Personally,” Harley went on,

I found this odd mixture of piety and politics to be mostly phony . . . The joke of the whole affair is that . . . non-violence didn’t accomplish anything. . . . I reluctantly say that inevitably there must be a rather wide and heated split between whites and Negroes before anything even approaching brotherhood comes about. This will be a period for the Negro to gain his long-

dormant self-respect. They will not be quiet times (*Record*, April 14, 1967).

Meanwhile, in week-to-week campus life, basketball teams led by Coach Roman Gingerich were having impressive seasons and attracting a loyal campus following, replete with cheerleaders. Men's soccer, which John Ingold would coach long and successfully, begun at Goshen in 1959 and soon gained campus popularity and competitive respect. Late-night carousers and coffee drinkers migrated over the course of a year or so from Miller's Downtown, to Azar's, to Tony's Billiards in Elkhart, and finally to Eyer's restaurant, a tiny haven of hospitable grunge at the intersection of Pike and Third Streets. To this last location, a decade of students followed for hotcakes, the juke box, philosophizing, and procrastination.³⁹ A new campus coffee house appeared in the fall of 1965 in the guise of Ye Old Spouter Inn (the name picked from the pages of Melville's *Moby Dick*), occupying several rooms of the venerable, if practically fossilized, North Hall. Students took on disturbing current movies like *Blowup* in their *Record* film reviews (*Record*, April 14, 1967), but repaired on Saturday mornings to the Union lounge to watch "Roadrunner" cartoons.

As it entered the latter part of the decade, the campus resembled something like a dazzling but unpredictable circus, with staid traditionalists, edgy rebels, and indifferent masses sharing the same sheltering—suffocating, some had begun to say—college canopy. In the fall of 1967, the campus's idealistic longings, flashing ideas, embittered frustrations, and generational differences intersected on four mimeographed pages under a banner reading *Menno-Pause*.⁴⁰ *Menno-Pause*, a self-styled underground newspaper, set in motion events that were more significant when taken as a whole than as a sum of their parts. It is hard to explain why, in themselves, direct quotes taken from President Mininger and Martin Luther on the subject of Christian humor could have caused distress. Or why, on the other hand, students who defied a presidential warning would not have met the promised consequences with only routine notice by the community. But the thorn in the institutional flesh that was *Menno-Pause*, and the competing surprise and satisfaction felt on campus when its four editors were suspended, make more sense when viewed in an immediate context in which the old collegiate sparing partners, truth and freedom, were already on the ropes.

The paper's four editors handed students the first issue of *Menno-Pause* as they shuffled toward breakfast on Friday morning, September 29. The team, Tom Harley, Lowell Miller, Sam Steiner, and James Wenger, were called on the following Thursday, October 5, to come before President Mininger and Dean of Students Russel Liechty to discuss the publication. President Mininger welcomed their goals of humor and critique, he told them. Could they not achieve these without the use of profane language? The boys were adamant that they could not. Be that as it may, Mininger

warned, further distribution on campus of obscene materials would necessitate their departure from the community.

Four days later, on Monday, October 9, the second and last issue of *Menno-Pause* appeared, sprinkled with four-letter words and defending the honesty of vulgar language. *Menno-Pause 2* occasioned an eight-hour meeting by the Faculty Discipline Committee on Wednesday, October 11, a session which included individual appearances before the committee by the four editors. The next afternoon at the regular faculty meeting, the committee relayed its decision to suspend the boys for the remainder of the 1967-1968 term. That evening President Mininger called a Presidential Forum for students. Many crowded the Union Lounge to hear the news. For about twenty minutes, students aired critical comments about the decision. Then a young man stood to say he thought the suspension appropriate. A large segment of the audience broke into applause (*Record*, October 27, 1967). For weeks afterward, students defined themselves and their peers by the uneasy criterion of "who clapped and who didn't."

To some degree, the story of *Menno-Pause's* brief rise and fall can be found in the evidence of its own conflicted purposes. In its self-contradictory, imploding way, the paper did cast light on some aspects of the four or so previous years at Goshen College, unsteadily lurching from brilliance to somnolence to temper tantrum. Of course, it is all but impossible for anyone not privy to the immediate moment to appreciate what pleasure or offense contemporary readers would have derived from a joking want ad by a Religion 301 student, offering to trade a complete, leather-bound "King James version of God's word" for "back issues of *Playboy*." Or to recapture with true understanding the reception given a feature entitled "Horrors of Horrors," a chart graphing the decline of the head covering, "the great Mennonite heraldic emblem."

It does seem fair to say that after the delectable wit of its title, the paper's contents failed to live up to its announced critical and humorous intentions. Its editors undercut their own stated purpose in the most erratic ways. Thus the first issue trumpeted its mission as "gadfly . . . watchdog . . . critic . . . an extended student opinion board—and general all-around crap."⁴¹ Editorial vision dissolved into self-indulgent bathos in the second issue, where the writers dramatized themselves as cynically prepared to "[dig] up some avant-garde theologian's testimony that vulgarity is actually piety in disguise. That's no sweat. Rationales for this type of thing are a dime a dozen. (At this point the group bursts into an uncontrollable outburst of glee and hilarity)."⁴² That kind of scathing self-exposure might have made effective satire, had the editors not elsewhere in the issue in fact relied on that same ridiculed scheme, loftily invoking scholars to dismiss the qualms of those whose "super-pious pronouncement[s]" condemned profanity.

There was also the related tendency of the paper to belabor a bit too self-consciously its dissident credentials. Did real underground papers have to call themselves underground, as *Menno-Pause* made a point of doing? Reading the paper, one suspects too heavy a diet of *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*, too light of Jonathan Swift or the Book of Jeremiah. For example, the editors drew attention in the first issue to a list of strictly censored vocabulary, "deleted in the interests of virgin purity." That old trick gave them an opportunity to print "goodness gracious," "LBJ," and a four-letter Anglo-Saxon stand-by. The effect was like nothing so much as an attention-hungry schoolboy pointing out his own misdemeanors.

But despite juvenile pretensions and gaffes, *Menno-Pause* could not be written off as mere palaver. It contained some plausible send-ups of what to students could seem tiresome administration refrains: committees "re-evaluating, re-assessing, re-viewing" various issues; President Mininger's recent call in his fall address for everyone to acquire "a sense of humor"; the unceasing heralding of "community." *Menno-Pause* picked up the debate on the college's mission when in its second issue an anonymous writer objected to President Mininger's definition of Goshen College as "here to serve the Church" and to "transmit the values of the Church." "This is no longer education; this [is] training (conditioning in psychological terms) . . . Why not call it by its proper term—Sunday School?" The paper pointed up the college's double standard for women regarding housing regulations. It challenged the campus to admit that membership in the Student Christian Association was dwindling.

Most to the credit of the editors, in their second issue they did not shirk from running critical responses to their own paper. An anonymous writer scolded his student peers for pursuing trivial complaints, such as gripes about the ban on freshman car ownership, when given a significant new opportunity to dialogue with the administration at a Presidential Forum that had been scheduled on October 4, just before the administration confronted the *Menno-Pause* four. "After a performance like this the administration can hardly be blamed for considering us a bunch of irrational, immature cry babies," the writer lamented. "All the superficial aspects of dissatisfaction were expressed vociferously. But when President Mininger attempted to probe beneath the surface silence reigned supreme."

Campus views on the *Menno-Pause* incident in the aftermath of the suspensions ranged from outrage, to support for the administration, to indifference. There were at least two points being debated, that of the paper's content and that of the disciplinary action taken. A student who later came to see the administration's decision as "overkill," said that at the time he little cared how the decision went, since he viewed the students involved to be far out on the "radical fringe" of campus. Others in the student mainstream, he believed, shared his detachment from the contro-

versy.⁴³ Some who were ready to support an alternative press felt reluctant to boost *Menno-Pause* after seeing the uneven quality of the first issue. "One must still ask whether Goshen's underground paper reflects constructive dissent or immature sarcasm. . . ," Steve Kreider wrote to the point in a *Record* review one week after the first number of *Menno-Pause* appeared. "If the fledgling paper is to survive . . . the team will have to use more discretion, choose more significant subject matter, and sharpen its criticism to the point where it becomes more than a crude gripe-sheet" (*Record*, October 6, 1967).

Underlying even open-minded readers' ambivalence about the alternative paper, presumably, was also the question of that paper's redundancy in the face of the official college paper's excellence. Throughout the weeks of the *Menno-Pause* affair, The *Record's* editor, Sue Clemmer, working with her staff out of the warren of student publishing offices in the Physical Plant, delivered mature journalism of breadth and aplomb. On October 27, for example, The *Record* devoted its center spread feature to the impact *Menno-Pause* had made. The *Record* staff acknowledged the "emotional shock" of the expulsions, referring to the day of the disciplinary action as "Black Tuesday," a term one would expect of *Menno-Pause* partisans. It quoted statements, surprisingly constructive ones, by the four dismissed students. Yet it also made room in its feature for the perspective offered by Psalm 51, "You desire truth in the inward being; therefore teach me wisdom in my secret heart," and included a 1957 *Record* editorial on the difficult necessity of seeking the truth.

Faculty opinion immediately after the incident varied too. Professor Mary Oyer, who in the pages of *Menno-Pause 1* had received the uncertain honor of being praised as "one of the best profs and humans around here," opened her next Fine Arts class session detailing her staunch objections to the newspaper.⁴⁴ Others, like Atlee Beechy, took a professional interest in the phenomenon of the paper, asking what psychological needs might have led students to such an outburst.⁴⁵ Some faculty, in informal or private discussions following the initial announcement of the disciplinary course decided upon, took strenuous issue with the decision to curtail free expression and to suspend students on the basis of a publication. But no real split or prolonged, widespread debate about the paper or the suspensions occurred.⁴⁶

The final consensus on *Menno-Pause* in 1967 seems to have been that, having exercised valuable freedom in their effort to "get the truth to these [hypocrites]," as one of the editors was quoted in the second issue, the writers had not completely revealed Goshen's truth. "The thing that shook me most was not the rather sickly effort to be pornographic," wrote an unnamed professor whose letter the editors published in their second issue, "but the obvious effort to be smart alecky and bigoted and the intent to

hurt." Subjected to display in a distorted glass, the real Goshen College, blemishes and all, took on a nobler image in many eyes.

The year 1967-1968, as it progressed, demanded a great deal from students and faculty. *Menno-Pause* was by no means the greatest of the year's challenges. But it did illustrate, in the most reckless and insistent way to date, a strain of disaffection and near-hopelessness among a segment of vocal students. The public jottings and controversial departure from campus of four of them, curiously, seem to have contributed something toward greater mutual understanding among those who stayed behind. Presidential Forums, faculty-student talk sessions in the dormitories, a Campus Church study of "Hostility and Christian Dissent"—all of these sprouted from the ferment of criticism, reaction, and rapprochement that took place during the *Menno-Pause* month. Professor Daniel Leatherman, who had earlier made Mennonite students' general political development the subject of his University of Chicago master's thesis, some time later called the incident "Goshen College's Cuban Missile Crisis"; after the stand-off, he quipped, both factions enjoyed happier relations (*Record*, February 28, 1969).

One also senses that, just as frustrations among the most agitated students were boiling over on the pages of *Menno-Pause*, compensatory conditions on campus, such as the opening of the Good Library and the superbly relevant Vietnam Study Day, were nudging the multigenerational college community toward greater mutual dependence and respect.

Unexpected tragedies also had the effect of bridging differences. A series of startling events on both national and local fronts began in the early part of 1968. Atlee Beechy went to Saigon in late January to evaluate relief programs for MCC and stayed in Vietnam during the Tet offensive. In February, Professor James Hertzler and his wife, Alta, sustained serious injuries in an automobile accident which narrowly spared their lives. On the evening of Thursday, April 4, the campus heard announced in the course of a Lecture-Music program that Martin Luther King Jr. had been killed in Memphis. Three weeks later, the college grieved the death on April 26 of a vibrant, beautiful woman, Viola Horch Falk, the thirty-three-year-old wife of Professor David Falk. A concert vocalist and mother of four, she was killed when a drunk driver struck the couple's car as they drove home from Elkhart. On June 5, 1968, an assassin gunned down Democratic presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy, moments after Kennedy had declared victory in the California Democratic primary.

These somber events, coming, as it seemed, in relentless procession, trained hearts away from private disappointments and bickering toward humility and common sorrow. A hastily planned day of reflection following King's death, for example, replaced regular classes and summoned faculty, administration, and students to think about the meaning of King's life and the lessons Goshen's black students could offer. "Friday, April 5,

was what a Christian liberal arts college is all about," *Record* editor Sue Clemmer wrote. "It may have been the most significant learning experience of the year" (*Record*, April 12, 1968).

Meanwhile, what would for decades be the definitive Goshen College learning experience had slowly been taking form. Poised in the fall of 1968 to become part of Goshen College's general education curriculum, the Study-Service Trimester (SST) contained fresh ideas plucked from recent campus thinking and the atmosphere of the rapidly changing times. As a gust of innovation, the proposed program promised to widen the confines of college tradition. But the Study-Service spirit, just as importantly, held aloft institutional ties reaching back to the previous century, when the Elkhart Institute sent the first three Mennonite workers out to India. From the start, a large measure of SST's success could be attributed to its improbable wedding of Mennonite historical truth to far-flung, freethinking liberal education—its optimistic embodiment, in other words, of "Culture for Service."

In the fall of 1962, the Council of Mennonite Colleges—a group of eleven schools originally convened in 1942 to prepare for the possibility of military conscription among the youth of the historic peace churches, and which after World War II had sponsored several study-work tours to Europe—proposed a seminar in international studies for the following summer. The seminar was accordingly planned to take place in Haiti in the summer of 1963. It would take the form of an eight-week course, designed to accommodate twelve to fifteen upperclassmen from various Mennonite colleges. Bluffton College's Professor Howard Raid and Goshen's Professor Jonathan Roth joined Marvin Penner, a Mennonite Central Committee worker in Haiti, to lead the seminar. The organizers were interested in a two-part curriculum: cultural studies on the one hand, specific development issues on the other. In the summer of 1964, Goshen faculty couple Willard and Verna Smith led a similar student study tour to Central America (*Record*, November 30, 1962; March 1, 1963; May 15, 1964).

These summer seminars, sponsored in developing countries by the Council of Mennonite Colleges, were one prototype of what became Goshen's own Study-Service Trimester. In 1965, Goshen's Professor Henry Weaver, who had just returned from a year's sabbatical leave in Peru, began serving as Secretary for International Educational Services of the Council. At the same time, President Mininger had asked Weaver to assist him in administering the work of a new Committee on the Future of the College. Mininger, according to Weaver, had "seen the way changes were coming" in higher education; the president pooled eight or so of the campus's "creative minds" and made it a priority to spend two hours per week thinking together in a "wide open" forum about how the college might imaginatively meet those changes.⁴⁷ That same fall of 1965, when the North

Central Association inspectors arrived on campus to evaluate Goshen's accreditation, now of twenty-five years' standing, they took note of the wealth of international experience that had accumulated within one small campus. The evaluators turned what they observed to be an extraordinary, untapped asset into a recommendation: why did Goshen College not exploit more deliberately this unusual concentration of cross-cultural experience? (*Record*, October 8, 1965). Around the same time, a group from Bluffton College calling itself "Burschenschaft" began promoting international study as a means of producing peacemakers, not simply passive peace witnesses; the Burschenschaft group advocated study abroad as a vehicle for training in conflict prevention. Consulted for his opinion on these proposals, Weaver indicated his interest in the overall idea. He also made the observation—astutely kept in mind when fashioning Goshen's program later—that for all the value in the proposed course's worthy service agenda, the experience would probably benefit the traveling students more than anyone else (*Record*, November 26, 1965).

By March 1966, word was out on campus that the Committee on the Future of the College had generated the remarkable proposal that every Goshen student be required to spend one term abroad (*Record*, March 11, 1966). Sounding captivated if slightly bemused by this freewheeling faculty brainstorm, student Alice Umble wrote in its favor,

Stated together, the goals of the term abroad sound overly ambitious: service, culture shock, self-discovery, language experience, intense study of the culture, adjustment to new family and friends. All this will supposedly happen under the sometimes watchful eye of a Goshen College faculty member and 15-20 Goshen College students.

However ambitious, the term abroad has the potential of adding meaning to the typical student's concept of service, even apart from the service project. . . . (*Record*, March 25, 1966).

On October 6, 1966, the faculty as a whole endorsed the committee's proposal. By late November, Miner and Weaver had set off on a 25-day scouts' adventure through Latin America in search of sites where Goshen College's new program might pitch its tents. The pair trekked through nine countries and reported many favorable opportunities. Summing up that school year in the spring of 1967, Sara Ann Freed declared to her fellow upperclassmen, "Faculty factions finally managed a consensus on a major issue and voted through a trimester and study-service term abroad program which will send your siblings around the world" (*Record*, May 22, 1967).

Looking at the development of the SST program, one is impressed with the rapidity with which such a potentially lugubrious bureaucratic journey got underway. By the summer of 1967, groups of Goshen students paid the

fee for six weeks of tuition in Elkhart County, then set out to join faculty leaders for ten weeks in locations like Haiti (French), Columbia (Spanish), and Barbados (English) in a trial run of the new course.⁴⁸ Thus the October 6, 1967 *Record*, which one might have expected to devote exclusive attention to the unfolding *Menno-Pause* phenomenon, instead celebrated on its center spread those summer pilots in a feature article entitled “Students Go International.” Here the first wave of a generation of tanned, knowing, returned travelers defined a new and authentic Goshen genre: the excerpted SST journal. These pioneers supplied their pithy vignettes on “wondering if the object between your feet is a breadfruit or a half-dead chicken” (Haiti); on “feeling a part of and apart from” (El Salvador); on “Barbados—166 square miles of dogs;” and, quintessentially, “meeting many new people, among them yourself” (Barbados).⁴⁹ Interestingly, the spread on “Going International” made room for not only these observations by the proto-SSTers, who were undoubtably the survivor-celebrities of the moment, but also for comments by international students such as Ramzi Farran of Jordan and Paul Biswal of Tanzania, who had been transplanted to the strange land of Goshen’s campus, and for the reflections of Goshen students who had spent the entire 1966-1967 year studying in the Brethren junior year abroad program in Europe. Taking a long view of international education was exactly right: SST was, indeed, the latest development in a substantial international history.

The first units of the official SST program were dispatched in the fall of 1968. Dean of Students Russel Liechty visited the units that term. One sensed his lingering wonder at what the college was up to when he warned upon return that the campus’s own culture would never be the same. “Imagine little groups speaking French and Spanish in the snackshop,” Liechty said (*Record*, September 20, 1968). The dominant spirit surrounding SST for the remainder of the Mininger years was one of buoyant goodwill and almost giddy discovery. Who could help but like the image of Paul Mininger and his smiling, dignified wife Mary making the rounds of the units in the spring of 1970, gamely delivering “the books, camera, film and typewriter to Theron Schlabach; the socks to Marty Honderich; and the pretzels to Dan Hess” (*Record*, March 6, 1970)? Or the winsome insights of Rex Tyson, writing from Nicaragua in 1969:

Real culture is having a flush toilet,
 Culture is having a latrine,
 Service is being given a shovel and a banana leaf
 (*Record*, February 28, 1969).

There was also a kind of poetic justice in the way in which SST—only incidentally, its framers insisted—could meet student discontent head-on.⁵⁰ The student who as a freshmen fretted that his little Mennonite college was

provincial, protected, or irrelevant might, the next September, find himself careening home through Port-au-Prince in a sweaty *camion*, uncertain of the Haitian Creole phrase for "Stop, please," or of where his true "home" was, the more he thought about it. He was also careening with Goshen College, though he may not have had a moment to notice then, on the extremely relevant cutting edge of American education.

Student reports from the field made it thrillingly—and disconcertingly—clear that the developing world, now counted among Goshen's classrooms, was transforming itself before students' eyes, catching them up in its rhythms, and throwing into new perspective issues like loneliness, adequate food, race relations, and faith. It was soon apparent that, in the spontaneous experiences of students far from home, some encounters between culture, service, the world, and the church transpired that no committee planners could have fully anticipated. Students were writing back with likable candor about their awkwardness as they joined their host families on the fiesta dance floor, or the polite confusion that reigned around the Guadeloupian dinner table, until they agreed to accept the culturally-correct glass of wine. Of course, these unexpected revelations flowing in from SST, once the program got off the planning table and onto the ground, pointed up the marvelous daring of the proposal in the first place. Even as they and their families also met with confusing cultural challenges, the faculty couples sent as early SST leaders—ambassadors, halting interpreters, spiritual anchors, and surrogate parents—turned in crucially successful (and frequently improvised) performances of diplomacy and wisdom.

In creating SST, Goshen College had taken out a new lease on Lawrence Burkholder's old questions of involvement and withdrawal, responsibility and compromise, and the proper place of Mennonites in the ambiguous twentieth century. To talk about SST with reference to "the Third World" was to indicate the administration's conscious decision to transport students from one "world" to another. And, when one stopped to think about it, other worlds were colliding and rebounding right on campus as well. As the 1960s gave way to the 1970s, a number of women students calling itself a "women's liberation" group spoke up for changes in campus social expectations. When Dr. Finley Campbell, an English professor at Wabash College, visited campus late in the decade, he arrived accompanied by four members of the Black Panther Party, who with Campbell attended convocation and meetings with the faculty and students (*Record*, January 30, 1970). Although functioning since 1958 in a collaborative relationship as the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, the fall of 1970 found the Goshen Biblical Seminary physically removed from the college campus to Elkhart where it could better conduct its still independent but converging operations with the General Conference Mennonite Church's Mennonite Biblical Seminary.

Some collisions between disparate worlds in these agitated times ended improbably in grace. The same solidarity of feeling across generation discovered to be possible when facing Vietnam's catastrophes found expression again at Goshen in the spring of 1970, when faculty and students united in sorrow over the deaths of war protesters at Kent State. The unthinkable news in the spring of 1970 of the shooting, by US National Guard troops, of four Vietnam War protesters on the campus of Ohio's Kent State University reached Goshen during morning classes. Dean Carl Kreider grasped the impact the news would make on students and faculty, and hastily arranged to extend the convocation period indefinitely. Shocked students and faculty spent the remainder of the day discussing an appropriate response to the event, and concluded their impromptu forum by walking to a community vigil held at the Eighth Street Mennonite Church (*Record*, May 15, 1970).

In the spring of 1970, several former college students expressed their urgent interest in change by effecting a hijacking—of sorts—at College Mennonite Church. The group had planned a takeover of a Sunday worship service, planning to confront what they assumed to be a sleepy, tradition-bound congregation with relevant world demands. As it turned out, the measured response of Pastor John H. Mosemann Jr., and others guided the potentially explosive incident to a graceful conclusion: Mosemann gave over the podium to the importunate (but underprepared) young preachers, extending them a warm invitation to partake in Sunday school discussions and a fellowship meal, which at least some of them did. There Goshen College graduates of the late 1920s and 1930s, who had decades earlier thrown off the yoke of required plain dress, prevailed upon the young rebels to explain their choice of severe black attire and plain-collared (actually, Nehru-style) jackets. The young rebels, products of their own historical moment, naturally responded with reference to nonconformity.⁵¹

Even curriculum planning, a roiling battlefield on some campuses, at Goshen became collaboration. An astute faculty committee chaired by John Oyer, undertaking a major review of general education from 1968 to 1972, invited student participation. At a time when students' critical impulses could veer toward sullen sniping, this group of Goshen student representatives were given an opportunity to conduct serious research and reporting, and indeed helped shape a new general education plan. Finally, faculty hiring, conducted by an administration perceived to be conservative, could take students by delighted surprise: "Goshen has hired a carpenter to teacher English," announced an incredulous *Record* on the appointment of poet Nicholas Lindsay (*Record*, December 12, 1969).

Summing up the 1960s in June 1970, Atlee Beechy offered a comprehensive, hopeful vision of a period some of his generation had written off in despair:

Overall I am clearly optimistic about our students. They are more socially conscious and socially sensitive, more concerned about the crucial issues and problems of man, more insistent on being honest, more committed to taking Christ seriously, more resistant to materialism, more peace-oriented and more ready to stand for principles than any generation I have known. Yes, they sometimes drop into a new conformity of their own, they are not always consistent in their own morality application, they frequently have a limited historical perspective and their motivations for reform and change are sometimes mixed and distorted. *This happens to be true in my generation as well.* They represent large hope for the renewal of the church and for effective service to the world (emphasis added).⁵²

The Mininger years, 1954 to 1970, had given rise to, nourished, and extended a pursuit of the question of Christians' responsibility to society. The pursuit had born fruitful, if sometimes tumultuous, results; rich learning, if no final answers. In 1971, J. Lawrence Burkholder, the same professor who in the 1950s had raised so many difficult questions about Christian responsibility, returned from the faculty of Harvard Divinity School to continue the search—this time as Goshen College's tenth president.



Chapter Eight

JOGGING AND FLYING

BRIDGING THE REAL AND IDEAL 1970-1984

Goshen begins with the assumption . . . that what is odd, exceptional and different may nevertheless be worthwhile, if not revelatory.

— J. Lawrence Burkholder, September 1984

The search for Goshen College icons of the 1970s eventually turns up some joggers. Their hooded, bobbing figures, trailing frosty breath, lope across the recollected landscape of that decade. Jogging in the 1970s was a national craze, of course. Yet at Goshen College, it had its indigenous qualities. The faculty had an ongoing history of doing it, for one thing; some had been serious runners since the mid-1960s.¹

The campus joggers shared a peculiar fellowship, one of whose aspects was good-natured rivalry. Runners returning from the track to the Union Building, for instance, habitually posted their individual miles on a common locker room chart. Noticing one day what seemed to be evidence of extra ambition on the part of fellow jogger John Gotwals, Professor of Music Lon Sherer decided to test Gotwals's competitive edge. He set about quietly increasing the charted numbers of a third party, Robert Buschert, who happened to be Gotwals's colleague in the physics department. Sherer later recalled that when Buschert's actual totals of two and three miles began appearing as entries of twelve and thirteen, "Gotwals was out of his mind trying to keep up with Buschert's figures" (*Record*, February 15, 1980).

Jogging seemed particularly suited to Goshen College. It recommended itself as virtuous recreation: more work, really, than play. It promoted lean fitness, a state linked increasingly among Mennonites with upright living.

It had not been co-opted as a commercialized spectator sport. Finally, jogging seemed appropriate to a people historically pledged to simplicity, distrustful of the artificial. Running was unpretentious and frugal. It encouraged the donning of whatever comfortable, well-worn clothing came to hand, and in that respect epitomized Goshen fashion of the early 1970s.

As the 1960s became the 1970s, then, jogging in various ways demonstrated the campus ethos. At a moment in American life when consistency in ideals and actions appeared to be a fading dream, jogging seemed to manifest Mennonite integrity. The point of the thing was to plod along doggedly, feet on the ground, a living metaphor of humble determination. Jogging was down to earth, and Goshen College liked to think of itself that way, too. It was hard not to admire the joggers.

Curiously, however, another Goshen icon of the period, J. Lawrence Burkholder, seemed, in his own favorite pastime, to contradict them. Goshen College's new president, was not known to plod along the cinder track with joggers. He was seen nearby playing tennis, it was true. But Burkholder's great recreative passion was flying. That hobby, naturally enough, struck few as down to earth.

Flying epitomized Lawrence Burkholder's style. It was not that Burkholder advocated withdrawal or escape. On the contrary, he frequently argued that modern Mennonites must face reality. Flying expressed President Burkholder's approach in its altitude, its venturesomeness, its vantage point.² Interviewed in 1977 in the course of a perennial campus debate over whether Goshen College should display the U.S. flag, Burkholder said, characteristically, "This is a problem we need to transcend." Making a fetish of the American flag, an "ambiguous" symbol anyway, he pointed out, was to fall into the same trap as the ultrapatriot. "What really counts," the president added with a hint of impatience, "is what happens in our daily lives—how we spend our time and money and how we make the decisions of life" (*Record*, December 2, 1977). Seen from the elevated perspective of "transcendence," the virtuous discipline of plodding around a track could look suspiciously like going in circles.

Lawrence and Harriet Burkholder's acceptance in 1970 of the invitation to return to Goshen College represented their decision to embrace the familiar, though not necessarily the predictable. Since leaving the Goshen faculty in 1961, they had lived with their four children in Boston, where Lawrence had headed the new Department of the Church at Harvard Divinity School.³ "I thought Mennonites had something to contribute to the world, and I wanted to be part of it," Burkholder was later quoted as saying about his family's return to Goshen. "Also, I was eager to operate in a context I knew intimately, rather than in the broad realm of the university."⁴

Indeed, Burkholder's statement about his goals summarized two major strengths of his presidency. Serving sympathetically in Goshen's familiar,

"intimate," Mennonite setting, Burkholder brought to that assignment the beneficially wide perspective he had cultivated in "broad realms" outside of it. Conversely, Burkholder made great strides in fulfilling a vision J.S. Coffman also had hinted at, elevating to the broader world's attention the hidden, peculiarly Mennonite, treasures of his small, little-known church and college.

To help implement these goals, Burkholder gave careful attention to assembling a team of administrators. Carl Kreider was retiring from the dean's office. Following a year as acting president in 1970-1971 and an additional year serving President Burkholder as provost, Kreider planned to devote himself fully to teaching economics. In close to thirty years as dean and two separate years as acting president, Kreider had inspired faculty affection and loyalty. He had been the administrative representative in much of their everyday dealings. In addition to possessing keen intelligence, Kreider had a balanced personality. He was efficient, imaginative, proper, and empathetic: good qualities for leading a faculty. In the more formal 1950s and early 1960s, he was known universally as "Dean Kreider"; one faculty child was surprised to learn that "Dean" was not his first name. Steering a daily course on a sturdy bicycle between his Eighth Street home and the campus, Kreider wore a wool beret tilted handsomely to the side. Because his deanship had spanned two presidencies and bordered two others, Kreider in 1971 represented continuity, and a good share of Goshen College's modern identity.

By the time he took office in 1971, President Burkholder had assembled an administrative team of capable individuals who also, it turned out, worked together with a high degree of compatibility. Daniel E. Kauffman succeeded J. Robert Kreider as director of college relations and development, while Kreider in turn became business manager.

Following the appointment of John A. Lapp as dean in 1972, Henry Weaver, the acting dean, became provost, a post he occupied until 1979, when he accepted a position at the University of California as deputy director of international education. Before he entered the administration as acting dean in 1970, Weaver had established a reputation among students as an original, quick-witted chemistry professor who by using various dramatic ploys caught students' attention every September. His daughter, Sally, a student herself at the time, wrote in 1979 of her father's pedagogic techniques, "Students might still remember walking into a freshman chemistry class, only to be confronted by a darkened room and an evening-gowned damsel playing dinner music at a candlelit piano" (*Record*, May 11, 1979). Henry Weaver's accelerated train of thought had a way of leaving other minds panting in its wake; Weaver "saw three ways to solve a problem when others saw none," according to Paul Miner. But he had exhibited extraordinarily patient determination when, as President Miner's assistant

following approval of the Study-Service Trimester (SST) in 1967, he listened and responded to faculty concerns about the new program's implications for their departments.⁵

John A. Lapp, Carl Kreider's successor as dean in 1972, served in that capacity until adding to his assignment the duties of provost in 1979. When Victor Stoltzfus arrived as dean in 1981, Lapp was able to concentrate exclusively on the work of provost. A personable historian, Lapp came to Goshen from the faculty of Eastern Mennonite College. When he arrived at Goshen, he discovered a considerable degree of faculty ownership in the way things were done, and found that "congenial."⁶ Faculty members appreciated that Dean Lapp read broadly and took an active interest in their interests: hurrying between chapel and his next class, a professor might pull from his campus mail box Lapp's scribbled note on a pertinent *New York Review of Books* clipping or a political cartoon. John Lapp took students' ideas seriously, and understood the Mennonite Church well. Like Burkholder, Lapp was interested in finding common ground amidst diversity. "The big mission of the college is to put things all together," Lapp was quoted as saying shortly after his arrival at Goshen College. "We live in an age of such fragmentation that the disciplines have become too separate from each other. We must find ways for the humanist, the scientist, and the theologian to contribute together to solve problems" (*Record*, January 21, 1972).

Daniel E. Kauffman, grandson of the former Gospel Herald editor and Goshen College president, had served among other capacities as the business manager of Hesston College and director of stewardship for the Mennonite Church. At the time of Burkholder's election as president, Kauffman was chairman of Goshen's Board of Overseers. "Nonplused" at the new president's insistence that he join the administrative team, Kauffman left his home in Scottsdale, Pennsylvania for Goshen "with all joy," "out of courtesy and respect" for the ability of the new president. From the start, Kauffman worked closely with Lawrence Burkholder on the matter of raising Goshen College's endowment—which stood in 1970 at a modest \$500,000. With their staff, Burkholder and Kauffman developed an endowment campaign called Uncommon Cause, whose title they stumbled upon when Burkholder, thinking aloud, reflected that they could hardly invite donors to pitch in for the "common cause" typically promoted by American colleges and universities, producing good citizens, when Goshen's purpose was wholly uncommon: shaping Christians who would build the church.⁷

Reflecting its name, the Uncommon Cause campaign raised money in a disarmingly gentle way; it invited thirty small groups to campus for individual weekend visits, and more or less allowed the campus's environment and people to represent the college—in tours of laboratories and the Men-

nonite Historical Library, in simple but moving testimonies by students (always seniors, no freshmen, the planners were careful to stipulate), and in conversation over dinner in the president's home—Harriet Burkholder's graciously repeated contribution to the Cause. In 1982, after a two-and-a-half year campaign, supporters of the college had pledged over \$20 million to Goshen College's endowment.

Working together as a largely intact unit throughout the span of Lawrence Burkholder's presidency, the administrative team combined the metaphoric strengths of visionary flying and long-distance running. The fact that running and flying might both be emblems of the same period indeed reflects the host of impulses that converged during this administration. Since Burkholder's first term began roughly with the new decade, and the events closing the 1960s had seemed all but apocalyptic, the prospect of a new season of college growth brought pleasure and hope. The notion of a fresh start was symbolically reinforced during President Burkholder's October inaugural celebrations. A campus-wide tree planting program occupied the central place in the program.⁸ To students, their subsequent casting of the new president into the waters of the Schrock Plaza fountain announced even more convincingly a new dispensation, the event presented as it was by the perpetrators in terms of a mock baptismal immersion (*Record*, November 5, 1971). If the sacramental connotations were lost on some, then the unprecedented, disarming availability of this president for a public dunking surely signaled a change of season.

Yet as much as the inaugural symbolism suggested a turning point, it was difficult for anyone to turn away fully from the recent past. Though some hastened to herd all events of the past decade—the momentous, silly, and world-changing alike—under that neutering, catch-all rubric “the Sixties,” the impact of those years still haunted the campus. There was not unanimity on campus about the legacy of the previous decade. Some faculty expressed relief that the days of rage were past. Others recognized, with a certain resignation, signs of major social change, even in evidence so seemingly minor as students casually addressing faculty members by their first names, a habit whose beginning could be roughly traced to the irreverent, short-lived 1967 student publication *Menno-Pause*.⁹ Alumni and students, on the other hand, were inclined to lament the waning spirit of the era. Some students—even those removed from the decade by no more than a couple of years—set about commemorating its events as if they belonged to heroic antiquity. It seemed necessary to make sense of things, including, for Mennonites, developments particular to the church and to Mennonite education.

Thus many people emerged from the 1960s intent on figuring out what had just happened; fewer were sure what was supposed to happen next. But there was no doubt that the climate was changing at Goshen College.

In their own fashion, the influences represented by both earthbound joggers and an airborne Burkholder contributed to the change. Inasmuch as one can generalize about a prevailing campus approach to things, idealism began to concede some ground to realism.

Neither of Burkholder's missions—to broaden the narrow campus community and convince the wider world that small was beautiful—must have seemed immediately feasible upon his entrance into the duties of the office. Financial problems loomed immediately. In 1970-1971, Interim President Carl Kreider had been forced to confront a number of disconcerting trends toward lower enrollment and financial resources. Early in 1971, a frank letter on the subject sent by Kreider to pastors, counselors, and donors to the college inspired giving that offset a \$40,000 operating deficit. But as Kreider had stated plainly in that letter, projections for future economic health were not good (*Record*, January 14, 1971). Competition for Mennonite students among Hesston College, Eastern Mennonite College, and Goshen College would of necessity increase. In the fall of 1971, enrollment at Goshen had dropped by 45 students, and featured the first decrease in freshman students since 1967. College officials were confronted with the rather abrupt reversal of a pattern of steady growth that had begun two decades earlier following World War II. To the long-range planners who in 1962 had projected an enrollment of 1457 students by 1972, the figure of 1167 in 1971 must have been hard to accept. Yet America's economic squeeze, tightened decisively in the fall of 1973 by the energy crisis, was one of the constant realities of President Burkholder's first years at Goshen, and was one factor that encouraged realism on the institutional level. Burkholder was so relieved in the fall of 1975 that the college had survived five years of intense financial pressure that he thought up a midweek "Dream Day," canceled classes for October 31, and ordered everyone to imagine Goshen College's future—a luxury apparently seldom indulged during the darkest fiscal moments.

Burkholder's ability to balance dreams and reality would greatly benefit the college's relationship to its Goshen community. The northern Indiana area contained numerous Mennonite congregations, some of whom distanced themselves from the college, as well as a fund of non-Mennonite families, whose interesting, able members were productively involved in local business and industry, in government, in community volunteer work, in child-rearing and in churches—but few of whom had extensive contact with Goshen College. In certain periods, indeed, townspeople had tended to regard the college on its south side to be a place of plain-garbed seclusion (the 1930s), of conscientious objection to a "good" war (the 1940s), or of leftist opposition to the Vietnam War and everything Republican (the late 1960s). None of the perceptions were completely true, but neither were they completely false. Already in 1963, President Paul Mininger's keen per-

ception of the need to have greater contact with the community had led him to form a President's Advisory Board, a group of eight to ten individuals from the area who might "help Goshen College see itself from another angle," the words of Goshen attorney Charles Ainlay, continuous chairman of the Advisory Board since 1963.¹⁰

In 1971, Lawrence and Harriet Burkholder entered Goshen College eager to get to know people in the Mennonite congregations around the college and in Goshen's non-Mennonite community—to "build bridges" between Goshen College and its local neighbors, according to Harriet.¹¹ The Burkholders' personalities and past experience assisted them in the endeavor; they carried themselves comfortably and genuinely among all of these different groups. Lawrence Burkholder made a priority early in his presidency of calling on local Mennonite congregations to offer a Sunday sermon or simply to explain the college's current activities. The president and Board of Overseers met with Indiana-Michigan Conference pastors when concerns arose over the selection of class literature or campus films.

The President's Advisory Board expanded in number and geographical range, drawing on Elkhart and Middlebury as well as Goshen. These business and community leaders showed themselves to be highly-committed fund-raisers for the college; when an urgent need arose to match or lose \$150,000 of grant funds toward the final funds for the Umble Center's construction, for example, the Advisory Board responded by raising the crucial amount in a few days.¹² The administration saw the need for more Goshen residents to get to know their college directly, by visiting campus. In 1977, Harriet Burkholder joined women from the community to launch the Afternoon Sabbatical program, which continues to be a program offering free, topical lectures given on campus by Goshen College professors to a college and community audience, whose members learn to know one another in follow-up discussion and shared refreshments. One evening in 1980, friends of the college in Elkhart industry assisted in arranging a public lecture in the Union auditorium by the colorful raconteur and humanitarian Bill Veeck, owner of the Chicago White Sox baseball team. That evening, as may be imagined, drew onto campus for the first time many sophisticated Elkhart County baseball fans formerly unacquainted with Goshen College.

Bridge building to points off campus and the smoothing of tensions with constituents occupied much of the Burkholders' positive energy from the start. A harder to quantify but confounding early obstacle that confronted President Burkholder on campus was a gathering student mood many were inclined to call cynicism, a campus spirit which Burkholder once in frustration called "pseudo-existentialist gloom" combined with "the fear to seem dumb" (*Record*, January 12, 1973). The often likable if brazen impudence of the late 1960s seemed to have metamorphosed into a demeanor

that, at its worst, showed petulant crankiness—lacking even the leaven of the radicals' melodrama or humor. Goshen students, to be sure, balanced the grouchy spells with their more accustomed overall good sense and unaffected friendliness. Yet like young people everywhere, they seemed to have retained the radicals' ability to perform withering critique but lost the positive energy required to bring about change. Some veterans of marches, protests, and campaigns frankly admitted fatigue and renounced their quixotic side. "I was completely exhausted," student Robert Charles was quoted explaining in a *Record* article entitled "Activism—Now a Whimper." "My energy was drained, as though I had lost my ambition. It seemed as though we hadn't accomplished anything. It's frustrating when 800,000 people go past the White House and you find out later that the President was watching football all afternoon" (*Record*, April 5, 1974).

Political defeatism, symbolized for some in the election of President Richard M. Nixon in 1968 and 1972, no doubt accounted for some of the lassitude. In a campus survey taken in 1972, the Democrats' candidate, George McGovern, had been favored over the Republican Nixon by a margin of 53 to 20 percent, quite a change from the 92 percent backing the campus had given Nixon in a poll taken in his run in 1960 against John F. Kennedy. Following the election, student journalist Greg Bowman wrote,

George McGovern's defeat made explicit what the prevalent student apathy implied—that the New American Dream of the '60s is dead. The ultimate mass protest was scheduled and nobody showed up. Alive and well is the essence of Good American Reality, made almost flesh in the personal media image of Richard Nixon (*Record*, November 3 and November 10, 1973).

Students did not lack for complaints or concerns. And there were remnants of idealism. But by 1971 these were often being channeled in hypercritical, cranky ways. Campus social life was addressed in self-defeating tones. A Coffman basement coffeehouse formerly called The Drain had become the Dribble Inn—an alienating name when one thinks about it—in whose venue in January 1972, the Women's Housing Government Association advertised their "last ditch attempt at campus social life." They planned to serve popcorn and dill pickles (*Record*, January 21, 1972).

One target of student critique was American materialism. Here, of course, Goshen students were in step with the Mennonite Church, which by the end of the decade had helped to produce or at least taken an interest in *The Upside-Down Kingdom*, *The More-with-Less Cookbook*, and *Sojourners* magazine. In the fall of 1973, the *Record* staff promoted thrift by featuring a "Buy of the Week" competition; winners received one spartan hot dog, and appeared in a photograph displaying their bargains. So many prizes went to the Saskatchewan student Dan Mullet that he was eventually made

director of the contest (*Record*, February 22, 1974). But the mistrust of American materialism, and American social tradition generally, could take less winsome forms. Commercialized feminine beauty as purveyed in the pages of *Glamour* or *Seventeen* magazines got its exaggerated comeuppance, for example, in a period of Goshen women's fashion that dictated dowdy work clothing, bandannas, and flannel. The only distinctive sartorial vein to mine was the thrift shop, a source from which, paradoxically, all attire was permitted—mink, grandmotherly cardigans, or outlandish ballgowns—as long as it telegraphed “secondhand.” Given many students' hardening rhetoric against the American beauty myth and its stereotyped representatives, one hardly wonders at the mystified comments made early in 1972 by one student that fellow cheerleaders doing their energetic best to inspire Goshen basketball fans usually met with blank stares (*Record*, February 18, 1972).

Even the desire to beautify the campus's appearance could meet with mistrust. The decision to devote the bulk of President Burkholder's inaugural program to tree planting had been taken partly in consideration of the campus landscape. “I wanted to bring beauty to a campus that seemed somewhat barren,” Burkholder later recalled.¹³ Today practically a mythic event in community memory, the tree planting in its own time was greeted with wide approval (“JLB Prefers Trees to Speeches,” read a *Record* announcement of the ceremonies). Still, despite the unconventional appeal of the idea, so few students bestirred themselves in response to the call to plant trees that the inaugural planning committee had to scramble to find alternative planters.¹⁴

Some students had actually questioned the stewardship of the tree-planting plan. Was the college justified in spending over \$4000 (money donated for the purpose by alumni, as it happened) on “beautification”? If tree planting there had to be, why not plant productive fruit trees, from which students could harvest apples, pears, and peaches? (*Record*, October 8, 1971). This un-ironic suggestion that the campus double as a fruit orchard captures poignantly the restless impulse among students at the moment to object, to raise scruples, almost as if for their own sake rather than, in this instance, for that of logic.

Critical logic seemed to evade students and faculty in their 1973 examination of the college's chapel-convocation policy. Since 1970, students had been required to submit a punched, numbered IBM card, complete with printed warnings against folding and spindling, at the entrances of the Church Chapel sanctuary. Fed into a computer, the card registered one's weekly and cumulative attendance quota—thus seeming to some to kill two Mennonite ideals, voluntarism and simple living, in one high-tech blow. At the same time, a student census of faculty chapel pews over a period of time had revealed spotty faculty attendance at chapels and convos. Goshen Col-

lege Community Government duly passed a proposal in November 1972, calling for faculty compliance with the same chapel-convocation attendance required of students (*Record*, December 1, 1972).

President Burkholder asked for time to consider and rule on the proposal. Meanwhile, some contrite faculty began voluntarily carrying and submitting chapel cards, a gesture the computer was not programmed to acknowledge. The number of volunteer faculty card carriers grew until February 16, when Burkholder rejected the GCCG plan, saying the *Faculty Handbook* encouraged faculty presence at chapel but ruled out the necessity of taking professors' attendance there.

The affair had renewed the discussion in its narrowest terms, those of chapel requirements. It forced the administration to admit a discrepancy in the communal obligations placed on faculty and students. And it accentuated the notion, ascendant in the 1960s, that students were somehow in an adversarial relationship with the college's administrators and faculty. But had the rationale for holding chapel at Goshen, surely the bedrock concern, been clarified as a result? A faculty member abroad, spared participation in the controversy by sabbatical leave, penned back to a colleague, "What do the faculty who have volunteered to carry C-C cards do with them? Cough loudly, or block the doorway pawing through their pockets, or what, when they present them? If they carry cards, what by now is the record of attendance? If poor, it shows we are all still human. If perfect, they don't need the cards, right?"¹⁵

To be fair, it was likely these eternally antagonistic claims of humanity and perfection, stirred up everywhere in the 1960s, that underlay the acutely critical student spirit of the early 1970s. Those contesting claims had always recommended themselves, in some form, to maturing youth seeking a liberal education. But the student eagerness to conduct cheerless attacks on institutional and social shortcomings, sometimes quite peripheral ones, was infectious, and demoralizing. It made Burkholder and other faculty impatient. And students themselves grew tired of it. Rich Gerig, who as *Record* editor in 1972 did reinvigorate a debate of campus issues, suggested that the campus needed to recapture a humorous view of life in the true sense, humor "based upon an ability to see that the human nature of all people occasionally stumbles and often makes mistakes. . . ." Editor Verlin Nafziger announced early in 1973 that his paper would unapologetically use the "forbidden words Mennonite, Community and Discipline, and refuse to use Apathy and Irrelevant" (*Record*, February 18, 1972, and January 19, 1973).

Student disenchantment was part of the overriding campus need to temper idealism. One gets the sense that people of good intentions felt arrested between dreams and reality. On one hand, the youth movement, political protests, and revolutionary rhetoric had led Americans to view change as

inevitable and essentially good. Yet often the actual outcomes of many of the efforts to change various American systems had fallen far short of the ideal—sometimes ending in bathos, sometimes in horror. One was left proposing change, without necessarily having the stomach to risk bringing it about.

Professor Guy F. Hershberger, a scholar known to work “with Bible in one hand and newspaper in the other,”¹⁶ took up the topic of student disenchantment in a sermon delivered at College Mennonite Church on July 18, 1971. He commented on a recent commencement speaker at Notre Dame, Kenneth Keniston, who had addressed the subject “Agony Stalks the Campus: The Lost Ecstasy of Youth”:

The assumption of the student protest movement and of the counterculture generally was that violence is something to be associated with the establishment. Not until Altamont and Madison [instances in which innocent victims died as a result of violence by the counterculture] were students awakened to the fact that “the potential for violence lies not only within the rest of American society, but within the student movement itself.”

Hershberger quoted Keniston further, saying that “the same students who last year were working toward major changes in national priority . . . have this year fallen silent. . . . They have turned inward—to meditation . . . to communes in the mountains.” For application to the admittedly less violent Mennonite student community Hershberger imparted the lesson, “Violence cannot be overcome by violence, nor even by nonviolence which has a violent spirit pent up within itself. Nothing less than outgoing, suffering love will do.”¹⁷

By the fall of 1973, President Burkholder, who on numerous occasions had urged student leaders to combat cynicism and apathy, was insisting rather expansively in an open letter to alumni that “student attitudes have become more positive, active and understanding” (*Record*, September 28, 1973). But the nay-saying habit was hard to shake. Almost three years later, in a report to the Board of Overseers and the Mennonite Board of Education, Burkholder confirmed that student morale was improving, but added ruefully, “It will be a great day for Goshen College when students feel peer pressure in the direction of affirmation rather than negation” (*Record*, October 15, 1976).

One main reaction to idealism’s disappointments evident in the 1970s was a many-sided pragmatism. It showed up in various ways at Goshen College. Students now restricted their efforts to a more personal and manageable scale. “My personhood now isn’t hinged on what has been known as involvement. . . ,” reflected Robert Charles about his earlier protest activities. “You just do what you can do.” One trusted the tangible and

utilitarian, since big ideas had proven ephemeral or even delusionary. In the end, one discovered the safest theater of operation to be that of the individual life rather than that of the mass movement. People felt suspicious, and therefore cautious. "Perhaps it would be best if activism as a movement be laid to rest," Ray Hershberger could write by 1974. "With it needs to go the vestigial conviction that change will come quickly" (*Record*, April 5, 1974).

The less idealistic strain of the early 1970s was reflected in the school's suddenly constrained economic circumstances. It showed itself in political resignation and exhaustion. And it found expression in tart student attitudes toward the institutions of college life. But the move at Goshen toward greater realism also stood out in positive relief in a number of areas. One area was a more positive aspect of the individualism mentioned above: an independent self-reliance compatible with the best in the sage of Walden Pond, Henry David Thoreau. "We are all Thoreaus," read copy for the 1971 *Maple Leaf*, "caught in an intense struggle to find ourselves." Goshen College accommodated genuine self-reliance naturally; it had done so in one way or another since Dr. H.A. Mumaw declared a few bookkeepers' worktables and stools in a rented hall to be an institute of science and industry.

Self-reliance, 1970s style, at Goshen inspired a boom in student and faculty in-house publishing; poet-in-residence Nicholas Lindsay led the way, mimeographing and hand assembling with students the first Pinchpenny Press volumes. It allowed couples the freedom to view no-frills hikes on foot or bicycle as legitimate dates, thus encouraging less stilted rituals between the sexes. It nurtured the campus's acceptance of a student-concocted, do-it-yourself radio program on WGCS called Synthesis, whose musical and editorial content (eclectic rock, as a general rule) depended on the tastes of the given evening's host. And it encouraged older students to pursue off-campus housing, with its commuting, meal schedules, and chores—a development which hampered the business manager's pursuit of paying dormitory residents, but provided an important outlet for students in search of their Elkhart County Waldens. President Burkholder had even briefly sounded out a plan to create a college theater building by way of an Amish-directed campus-wide barn raising east of the Physical Plant, until, as he explained in a typical Burkholder locution, "We found that there is a functional discontinuity between barns and theaters" (*Record*, March 31, 1972; October 27, 1972; May 5, 1978; November 10, 1978).

Related to self-reliance was a growing pragmatism that demanded of academic training some real world applications, or at least encounters with nature and the world off campus. Not, at this stage, that students were insisting on vocational relevance. They simply wanted college study to include the realm of human industry, usefulness, and experience. In this regard, one notes that while fewer busloads of placard-wavers rolled toward Wash-

ington, local community voluntary service involvement grew, especially in response to the one-on-one opportunities of the Big Brother/Big Sister program. The more freewheeling professors might conclude the term with breakfast in a cemetery, or a canoe flotilla down a Michigan river, or respectful participation in an Old Order Amish Sunday service.¹⁸ Some professors even simulated dramatic intersections with "real life," as in the contrived arrest in 1972 of English professor Jack Dueck, interrupted mid-lecture in a class on Alexander Solzhenitsyn's novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, and charged "with teaching" by Goshen policemen.¹⁹

The fine arts, reflecting the general cultural trend, were taking less rarified, elitist forms at Goshen. Marvin Bartel, an art professor who joined the faculty in 1970, attracted a student following in a very short time to his medium, ceramics, that has yet to diminish. One of Bartel's earliest contributions was to build a kiln east of the old Memorial Library for firing his and his students' pots.²⁰ Weaving and other textile arts were meeting with new enthusiasm among students in classes taught by Edna Shantz and Alta Hertzler. Professor Mary K. Oyer, who for twenty some years had taught a matchless introductory course in classical art and music, began including non-Western art—particularly African music—on the syllabus. Successive periods of residence and fieldwork in East Africa which began in 1968 were leading her to realize that in African art lay aesthetic integrity with the power to change her ideas. Studying music in Africa with African musicians broadened Oyer's appreciation for "functional" art forms and for the range of musical styles across cultures. Oyer's students now left Fine Arts class not only with Beethoven recapitulations but also the twang of thumb pianos dancing in their heads.²¹

Student artists tended to favor the utilitarian, even the disposable. The 1973 *Maple Leaf* editorial staff juxtaposed a photograph of Professor Arthur Sprunger's 1949 mural painted on a wall in the Union lounge, with one being readied in 1972 by a student artist, senior Jane Short, to hang on an exterior wall of the college heating plant. "Art [Sprunger] worked with a type of fresco," the copywriters commented. "His object was permanence." Short, by contrast, "worked with acrylics on ordinary plywood. Being subject to the forces of the rain and snow the plywood would soon begin to peel, probably be removed and hopefully be replaced with something contemporary. . . . Jane feels that in another 23 years her mural will be as outdated as the Sprunger mural is now."²²

Students' rush to endorse the tangible, useful, and transitory led other students to warn of anti-intellectualism. Dawn Ruth and Betsy Halteman did so in an astute column in the fall of 1972. "Perhaps the incoming freshman should be warned," they wrote in the knowing tone of upperclassmen. "Those visions of nights at college spent discussing Art and Life over Coffee should be left at home. . . . You see, intellectualism isn't 'in' this season."

They went on to sketch a campus where "'feeling' relationships have taken the place of intellectual pursuits," and "functional pastimes have replaced 'idle theorizing.'" Just look at ceramics and weaving classes, "overflowing with those for whom a handmade mug or tablecloth has more beauty than a classic equation or philosophy." "The pendulum has swung far," Ruth and Halteman concluded. "Perhaps it is time to lift our eyes from the clay, and stand back to see the situation, before we forget that there ever was another way" (*Record*, September 22, 1972).

President Burkholder, for his part, occasionally expressed concern lest a cult of feeling, making, and doing overtake an institution whose primary heritage and mandate, after all, was thinking. When vocational emphases seemed to promise economic salvation to small colleges like Goshen, Burkholder regularly lauded the value of studying the liberal arts. "The greatest single value of a liberal arts education is to have something to think about for the rest of one's days," he wrote in 1976. "A four-year liberal arts education introduces one intellectually to the great issues of human existence—the nature of reality, the meaning of life, death, order, chaos, free will, determination, language, affections, beauty and power." Looking back at the first five years of his tenure as president, Burkholder observed, "It would seem that the emphasis of the past five years on church relations, community relations, experimental religion, fellowship, K[oinonia]-groups, and good feelings may not be permitted to replace hard-headed thinking and exciting ideas" (*Record*, October 15, 1976). At the same time, some of the "hard-headed thinking" Burkholder himself had been forced to do early in his term had suggested to him the necessity, for the college's ultimate good, of following some of the detours off the purely intellectual track. In that regard President Burkholder, the philosopher who might have preferred to lead by thinking alone, proved superb at cultivating relationships on behalf of the college with its church constituency and its Goshen community.

Likewise the faculty, no foes of hard-headed thinking or intellectual inquiry, faced up to the ascendancy of pragmatism and relevance and allowed them to infuse the curriculum. As we have seen, this process had already begun during the previous administration. In 1972, Dean John A. Lapp and General Education Committee chairman John S. Oyer, among others, led the faculty, and a student advisory committee, in a revision of general education. The fruits of their labors, the Humane Studies Program, reflected several years' appraisal of other small church college's programs combined with the college's intense self-scrutiny.²³ Departments fashioned new courses, and in individual ways professors expanded the limits of traditional teaching.

The 1970 pilot course for freshmen, EXL, which eventually became the "Colloquium" component of the general education requirements, stood for

Experiment in Learning. The 64 students selected to participate took on an interdisciplinary study of "Coming of Age in the '70s," with four professors (representing the religion, English, history, and physical education departments) serving as the "resource persons" of their study. The atmosphere was announced as noncompetitive, the emphasis as "learning to learn." In the course of a term, students pursued the "laboratory" experiences of subsistence camping, dance exercises in the gym, and an examination of the Elkhart County trailer industry.

The colloquia were intended to be freshmen orientation terms centered on a topical theme of interest. Especially in the early years of the course, the list of choices covered a myriad of more or less academic topics. One of the first colloquium groups elected to embark on a construction project in Goshen, supervised by the poet-carpenter of the English Department, Nicholas Lindsay. Lindsay had proposed that building crew members read aloud great literature in turn while the rest sawed and hammered, a method he himself had followed to profit when first reading the Russian novelists (*Record*, May 6, 1971).

The most explicit curricular invention to address the search for holistic education came in the form of a required, general education component known as Creative Expression. Students conceived their own creative project, and contracted with faculty to carry it out independently while reading materials on creativity. They ultimately displayed and reported on their results.

One might have expected Creative Expression to exceed the wildest dreams of students who professed to crave relevant, applied courses. Each term, a Union gallery of students' picnic tables, poetry, ceramic pieces and crocheted afghans testified that projects were indeed being carried out. But the spontaneity and freedom students had contracted to enjoy were not always evident in the final products. To be sure, there were outstanding exceptions. But administrators discovered, oddly enough, that among those dragging their feet or balking outright at fulfilling the Creative Expression requirement were some of the campus's most imaginative students. Somehow a required spell of creativity seemed almost to paralyze others, until they finally produced half-hearted results out of the need to graduate. One student received credit for creating *The Campus Ex-Communicator*, a humorous, but hardly substantial, parody of the daily posted announcements. Perhaps administrators had underestimated the degree to which student creativity was being liberated within the bounds of the traditional classroom. Or perhaps students were simply too busy meeting the straightforward academic rigors of courses like Invertebrate Zoology or Renaissance and Reformation to be able to give themselves wholeheartedly to the embroidery needle or the lathe. Whatever the reason, though the student body clamored for hands-on learning, it was not necessarily prepared, as it turned

out, to accept total freedom in the matter. Similarly, students drew back in ambivalence when a student-initiated proposal for an optional, credit/no-credit grading plan actually progressed to the point of a campus-wide vote. The plan was defeated in the first vote but approved the following year.

Some of the curricular experiments soared; others sank. Titles of several new or renovated courses—Science: Elegance and Discovery, The Aesthetic Experience, Biblical Drama—teetered between coyness and marketing ploys, and, given student eagerness to pillory either, often met with ridicule. Generally speaking, however, a climate of academic flexibility and open-mindedness prevailed, and reflected in positive ways students' insistence on applied, experiential learning. Offering a "senior statement" on the eve of graduation in 1971, Sarah Eby mused that her high points as a Goshen College student had been,

oddly enough, the times when I was not at Goshen College. These include the Stratford Festival Seminar at the University of Waterloo, SST in Jamaica, and a . . . recent jaunt to the University of Toronto for an Irish arts seminar [activities all accompanied by Goshen professors]. However, I do give Goshen College the bulk of the credit, for it is responsible for my having these experiences. . . . (*Record*, April 8, 1971).

Sarah Eby's comments indicate that Goshen demonstrated a willingness to fling wide its educational gates during these years. Through all of the studious efforts on campus in the early 1970s toward relevant experience and open classrooms, Goshen's international campus—spread about Central America, the Caribbean, Asia and Europe—went bustling about its cosmopolitan business.

The Study-Service Trimester, it should be remembered, sent faculty families or pairs abroad as well as busloads of students. That meant that a particular unit of students formed relationships with a faculty member and his or her family under circumstances quite unlike those of, say, an early morning midwinter lecture course convened in Science 101. A shy sophomore who back in Goshen had perceived his SST unit leader as an only distantly knowable professor might, within a few weeks on location, have observed that austere individual attempt to barter for snow cones in Creole wearing nothing but swimtrunks and loopy facial expressions. Or, the student might himself have suffered the indignities of intestinal flu quarantined in the unit house guest room. Or confided to the professor-turned-confessor via his journal something of the perplexities of Port-au-Prince or the loneliness of the island La Gonave. Suffice it to say, neither student nor professor would ever view one another in quite the same way. In the cultural melting pot that was SST, Goshen College culture changed too.

Inevitably, though, the grafting of SST territory onto Goshen's home base was not accomplished with seamless precision. In the fall of 1970, a "Campus Happenings" column gossiped lightly that a recently returned SSTer had "graciously but seriously accused a professor of losing his SST personality." The professor's reported "lame" response: "It's not possible to retain it here." Gaps between home and host cultures opened not only while a student was on foreign soil, but in the imaginative realm one carried home. The student's pined-for homecoming feast on Big Macs and French fries, for example, indulged at the first stop as the chartered buses wound Goshen-ward from Miami, was but the first startling American encounter that might leave him more nauseous than satisfied. The next jolt could arrive during a mission sermon, seated in the pews of one's home church. Was it possible that coming home could be harder than going away? The criticism that arose of SST in the wake of the pioneering first years usually had something to do with the college's management of the numerous and various discrepancies between Goshen and its SST sites.

Thoughtful observers noticed that, contrary to the dictates of conventional wisdom, coming home to American affluence or Mennonite conservatism could indeed be more difficult than adjusting to beggars, or eating rice and beans, or communicating at the level of a Spanish toddler (or, in the cases of units in Korea or Poland, of a newborn). The institution most of the time seemed delighted with its decision to plunge the entire campus into such a milieu, sooner or later. Some questioned whether the emphasis on learning about cultures exotically distant prevented the riskier exploration of alien cultures close to home. Mark Ramseyer identified rural Mennonitism as one such culture—the "home folks" who had figured at every step in Goshen's history as potential foils for the airs and graces of their newly-educated children. "It's really strange that we enthusiastically endorse towards Middlebury and Kidron an attitude that we would never tolerate towards Costa Rica," Ramseyer stated in 1974. "We almost deify the Costa Rican peasant, lambast the Mennonite farmer, and declare ourselves objective guardians of the Truth" (*Record*, October 4, 1974).

In ways more blatant than misunderstandings with the home folks, the position on campus of Black students in the 1970s illustrated the discouraging fact that while Goshen College's cross-cultural ideal traveled well onto tropical islands and behind the Iron Curtain, it could elude groups of Americans living and studying together. It was not as if the campus ignored the topic of Black-White relationships; the topic received attention in forums, workshops, festivals and committee meetings throughout the decade. The problem was that the relationships themselves did not flourish. In 1971, Black student enrollment at Goshen reached its high of 64 students. The numbers reflected the college's recruitment in urban areas and the south, a practice which had grown out of the institution's various points of involve-

ment in the civil rights movement since the early 1960s. Recruitment brought to campus many non-Mennonite Black students attracted by Goshen's academic program, but underprepared for its double whammy cultural configuration: small northern town combined with European Mennonite. The town of Goshen in the early 1970s was beyond segregated: it counted virtually no Black residents among its citizens. Black Goshen College students residing there were not immune from discrimination in hiring, or from hearing racial taunts as they moved about town.

For its part, Goshen College's head was in the right place in seeking American minority students. But its heart and habits could turn traitor. One reason was that the campus majority had little notion of the inner-city or the South, of the receiving end of bigotry, or of the Black community's expressions of faith. Its college prohibited dancing, open dormitories, and the use of tobacco and alcohol, restrictions whose derivation kids from traditional Mennonite communities had the advantage of understanding, even if they chafed under them. But the college's hopeful assumption, at least as seen from the point of view of the culturally isolated Black students, seemed to be that the outsiders would cope simply by virtue of having arrived on campus.

The racial prejudice and confusion reigning in the larger society contributed to the difficulties at Goshen. As White radicals around the country adopted the cause of Black Power, Black leaders were claiming self-determination. The greatest interaction among Black and White students at Goshen likely did occur in the late 1960s and 1970s, when, as one student from Middlebury expressed it later, "we Whites outhustled one another to demonstrate our solidarity" with the urban Black students on campus.²⁴ The 1969 *Maple Leaf* asserted the possibility of racial harmony in its cover photo. A gospel choir that had been formed in the summer of 1968 by students singing informally in the Kratz-Miller kitchen, The Ebony Voices, met an enthusiastic reception when it performed in chapel or other programs.

Despite the college's struggles to accommodate its minority students, Black and White cultural gaps were not being naturally or spontaneously bridged on any broad scale. Early in 1971 Hubert Brown laid out persuasive arguments for why this was so. American Black identity and approaches to the majority culture were changing. Black distinctiveness, Brown explained, especially in an all-White setting, now presented itself as preferable to uncritical assimilation. "What Whites fail to understand," wrote Brown, "is the depth of black students' feelings. . . . [Black students] realize there's a better role to play than that of an 'oreo' or an 'Uncle Tom' . . . someone Black on the outside and White on the inside. . . . They are more alert and sensitive to every move the White school makes." Unlike a typical Mennonite college freshman who shucks his past in an effort to establish a new

identity, Brown said, the Black Goshen freshman was asking, "How can I keep my identity?"

Penetrating to the crucial riddle of Goshen's situation, Brown quoted Black Student Union chairman Everette Ersery. "Being on a White campus is like what White kids go through when they're on SST," Brown cited Ersery. "In fact we are the ones on SST, suffering greatly from cultural shock. Most White kids can leave Haiti or any of the other countries and come home, but for us, we must always feel like SSTers" (*Record*, January 28, 1971). Ersery's comments raised compelling, if troubling, questions. Why was it that a campus exploring the forefront of cross-cultural education in its SST program fumbled in accommodating Black American culture? Why was it that international students, including Black foreign students, faced numerous cultural adjustments in northern Indiana, but did not express the same alienation?

With the benefit of hindsight, some clues might be gleaned by synthesizing the observations by Mark Ramseyer and Hubert Brown cited above. The ideal style of travel and cultural exploration promoted at Goshen tilted toward requiring discretion, flexibility, and acculturation of the traveler, not his host, to encourage students and faculty to "tour without tourism," as one study group leader put it (*Record*, September 24, 1970). While the SST program supplied some familiar moorings in the form of unit leaders and a unit house, the bulk of the program actively encouraged students while in the country to go native—language, foods, a local "mother" and "father," worship with one's host family at a Catholic mass, what have you. When in 1977 *Record* reporter Dale Kraybill pressed Director of International Education Arlin Hunsberger on the adequacy of an SST orientation program which *Record* editor Steve Denlinger had earlier charged with being overly-relaxed, Hunsberger appealed to the program's original design which, he implied, actually proposed a healthy amount of initial disorientation abroad as a primary goal of the undertaking (*Record*, January 28, 1977 and March 4, 1977).

And, undeniably, the humble emptying of North American imperatives by impressionable students and their leaders was one of the positive wonders of SST. J. Daniel and Joy Hess, first leaders to Costa Rica, discovered in 1968 to 1970 that the lack of fluent Spanish on the part of the Goshen groups actually enabled greater receptivity to Costa Rican ways. "We were helpless little children on SST, and had to learn from new mentors," the host families, Dan Hess recalled. "We couldn't come as North Americans to tell them how to do it. Mennonites couldn't quite be dogmatic, talkative Mennonites, either. We couldn't preach a sermon, but we could interact with people." And the Costa Ricans responded warmly to learners, "innocents," "who made mistakes without malice."²⁵

Back home, however, some were moved to ask whether the SST explorer's plunge into the host culture, successful on its own terms, might fail to translate its lessons to diverse American cultures. American Black young people who came on the Goshen scene in 1971 sought to avoid unthinking assimilation into the dominant culture, to resist being chameleons. They found themselves, however, to be student "travelers" to a peculiar academic host community whose travel ethic for Americans urged the adoption of a selfless availability to the indigenous culture. Divergent expectations of cross-cultural assimilation helped explain forms of unofficial campus segregation, such as the social barriers to seat selection in the dining hall, which many decried but which tenaciously resisted change.

The college addressed the problems and celebrated black culture in some positive ways. And Black students took initiative in a kind of self-orientation to Goshen, forming the Ebony Voices, the Black Student Union, and a small group housing unit known as Black House. Another attempt at bridging gaps was made in 1977. The administration established a Cross-Cultural Relations Center and employed Goshen alumnus Leamon Sowell as its first director; Sowell found he wished to accomplish a great deal in a half-time position (*Record*, October 7, 1977).

An ambitious Black Arts Festival and All-School Study Day took place in the spring of 1971, though in that instance one student, Everette Ersery, wrote to an imagined campus reader, "It is impossible for you, as a White American, to even begin to conceive that Black adaptation to your society. But once again we bring you an expression of what it means to be Black" (*Record*, March 11, 1971). The White campus community, wielding what social conventions it knew, could feel rebuffed by the minority, too: the "false smiles" of White students were perceived as an "affront" by some Black students (*Record*, March 3, 1972). In the early winter of 1973, the college conducted a nine-week session on interracial understanding—helpful in its immediate setting, student participants acknowledged. The idea was that the seminar students would spread ideas to the rest of the campus. But by November 1973, the pertinent fact seemed to be that Black enrollment—and, it was charged, the admission office's efforts to recruit Black students—had declined by roughly half since 1971 (from sixty-four to thirty-four students). For the college's part, it was beginning to concentrate minority recruitment efforts on students with some prior affinity with the Mennonite Church, and thus perhaps fewer major adjustments to make at Goshen.²⁶

The Study-Service Trimester and other international programs were celebrated assets of a Goshen College education but, for all the justified respect they received (Denlinger called SST Goshen's "sacred cow") (*Record*, January 28, 1977), they could not be expected to eliminate every cultural tension on campus. One educational strength of the international oppor-

tunities, it was becoming clear, was precisely that they fostered productive tension in minds on either side of a given cultural divide. Thomas Kreider reflected after a year abroad that “though I never felt completely at home in Germany, I began to fear that never again would I be at home anywhere. Maybe, I thought, it is as if I were starting on a long search for the Holy Grail” (*Record*, December 8, 1978). Student poet Cathy Conrad from Waka-rusa, Indiana, wrote, seemingly about the journey into college generally,

I would go home
from all the faces
I can never know
to all the people
I remember still
except I think they've gone away
perhaps they've saved
my place
somewhere
But I'm a stranger there (*Maple Leaf*, 1972).

A campus cliché circulating in the early years of SST claimed that students would learn more in six weeks abroad than in an entire year on campus, but that prophecy, if carried to self-fulfillment, was of course misguided.²⁷ Perhaps on a campus which in the early 1970s could be curiously provincial and cosmopolitan at the same time, a greater emphasis on cultural displacement as an experience shared in some form by all members of the college community—by the Black student from Atlanta arriving in Elkhart County, by the Catholic youth singing from *The Mennonite Hymnal*, and by the Bontrager from Middlebury negotiating through a Tegucigalpa market—might have illustrated even more explicitly that SST's ultimate context was universal.

At the same time, the SST term was also affording revelations of human solidarity across culture and space that exceeded whatever programmatic goals had been established for it. One found examples of such revelations, glowing with magical realism, in student journals, Pinchpenny Press volumes, other creative outlets. One such account, written by economics professor Delmar Good, conveyed a quintessential SST epi-phany.

Good and his wife, Lou Ann, led an SST unit to Costa Rica in 1975-1976, America's bicentennial year. Their group had been invited to a town called Squirres to attend the Fourth Annual Ball of Saint Mary's Union Square Dance Club. Square dancing, which the group had assumed to be uniquely American, turned out to have Hispanic roots. At these out-of-the-way festivities they also encountered, improbably, the American ambassador to Costa Rica, who during his speech introduced the Goshen students as

his personal friends. "Then near midnight plates of rice and beans appeared, with savory, spicy chicken," Good wrote.

The band was playing "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean," the food was delicious; and back home in Goshen the snow was a foot deep. The world was beautiful. When we left at 2:00 a.m. the speeches were done, but the music was not. Buckets of ice cream had followed the chicken. We'd shaken hands with our Ambassador to repay him with Goshen's greeting. We'd come to learn about Spanish heritage and stayed to learn something about our own as well. Walking back to the little "pension" for the night we counted stars, and looked at the same moon that was sparkling on Goshen's snow. The world was smaller on this night, not for the technology that conquered that moon, but for the music and folk dance we shared under it with a culture we'd thought so different only a few days earlier (*Record*, March 26, 1976).

To be sure, a required international study term was not ridding the home campus of all its cultural hang-ups. But the example of Good's little report, communicated eloquently from remote Costa Rica by a professor as spellbound as his students, demonstrated that SST was having its effect.

One result at Goshen College of a chastened national idealism was cautious, hands-on pragmatism, as we have seen. Another sign that times had changed was an overarching concern with the individual. The individual presented an area more easily isolated and controlled than huge political systems or even campus-wide movements. The press in the 1960s for human rights and decisions of conscience had lifted up each person as both worthy and responsible. Many have argued, for example, that the factor most responsible for souring citizens on the Vietnam War were the images of victims' faces and atrocities to real people, beamed via television not only from battlefields but from villages, as well.

There was also a psychological component in the focus on the individual, a growing assumption in the general society that personal fulfillment depended ultimately on psychological health. While Mennonites were likely to locate an individual's fulfillment in service to other people and the community's well-being, there was nonetheless within the Mennonite Church a growing receptivity to the field of mental health, professional counseling of various sorts, and psychological terminology. The stigma attached to mental health problems was lessening, and the view of what kind of candidates qualified for psychological treatment widened. That process could be observed during the 1970s in the enlargement of counseling services at Goshen, under the aegis of both campus pastoral services and the college's regular counseling staff. Eventually, in 1977, Campus Ministries joined with personnel and counseling services to form an entire division, Student

Development. Dean of Students Norman Kauffmann spoke of a student's potential involvement with Goshen's student services extending to six years, from pre-college correspondence through post-commencement follow-through contact (*Record*, September 23, 1977).

In the fall of 1971, the college sponsored a nine-week workshop, an "experience in self-understanding and interpersonal relationships," to be conducted on campus by therapists from Oaklawn Psychiatric Center. Lest the prospect of therapists put students off, the workshop promoters made it clear that it would not involve intense psychotherapy. The participants were expected to be "normal" students, "concerned about their lives and . . . carrying out regular duties" (*Record*, September 10, 1971). In other words, the workshop was open to all. By the fall of 1981, a decade later, Russel Liechty who directed student counseling was quoted as saying that a total twenty-four people filled some capacity on the college's counseling staff. Furthermore, due to the broader definition being given counseling at the college, it was possible to say that in 1980-1981, over half of the student body had sought counseling. "We deal with more day-to-day problems such as decision making, values, identity and the routine questions of life," Liechty explained (*Record*, October 16, 1981).

Goshen College took seriously its attention to students' nonacademic needs. And students responded, no doubt gratefully, to the freedom to make their inner lives a subject of serious examination. "Personhood" and "interpersonal relationships," buzzwords of the 1970s, nevertheless reflected genuine concern. A series of chapel addresses on the seemingly self-obvious theme "Am I Somebody?" could be offered because, apparently, so many students were really asking that question.²⁸ Throughout the period, however, some voices cautioned against giving either a disproportionate or trite regard to the realm of feelings.

The interest in self-discovery and social development permeated areas of campus life beyond the strictly psychological. Human Sexuality, a course offered by Dr. Willard Krabill in 1974 as a non-credit seminar, developed by 1980 into one of the most popular and maturely approached classes on campus.²⁹ Professors from a wide variety of disciplines adopted journal-writing so frequently as a pedagogical method—traditionally a private genre of the bedside table—that a student might expect to keep a separate journal in several classes. Courses such as the Colloquium, SST, and, eventually, freshman "Interaction" groups suggested cozy familiarity between professors and students. As the trend toward mentor familiarity gathered speed, at least one professor recalled favorably his own earlier, more formal relationships with Goshen professors. Today, he charged, the faculty were being asked to treat education as "communion," to become personal models, possibly to invade students' private value systems.³⁰

Detecting a communication gap between nursing students and faculty members, some students planning the 1977 annual mock nursing convention drafted an emergency resolution and introduced it to the floor: "That in light of student and faculty feelings about our mutual communication problem and the need for people to feel good about each other, that immediately after the passage of this resolution each person present hug at least one other person" (*Record*, Feb. 25, 1977). An anonymous student argued eloquently in 1978 for a return to the old-style Goshen College counseling his father's generation had received, in which a student's academic advisor played an active role in discussing—sometimes practically dictating—his future prospects. Whatever the trend of the times regarding student-centered counseling, this student pointed out, passive listening could not replace personally engaged, even opinionated, faculty direction (*Record*, February 17, 1978).

Campus language bore the imprint of the new sensitivity. One occasional unfortunate outcome was an idiom that gave the impression that feeling had completely driven out thinking. In September 1973, the president of the Goshen College Community Government, Don Metzler, announced the year's program:

An aura of genuine awareness will promote action for a better experience. Sensitivity will enable this action to occur constructively. Confrontation in this most respectful sense will keep insisting on honesty and openness. This is the atmosphere we are working toward. Take time. Affirm people.³¹

Another effect was simply the insertion, or even invention, of euphemistic jargon that clouded meaning. A classic example in that regard was the verb "to care-front," a coinage by Mennonite therapist and author David Augsburg, frequently borrowed to explain the principle behind the college disciplinary statement, "Standards for Guiding Our Life Together." The difficult effort to secure individual satisfaction while at the same time heading off group conflict in an area like student housing regulations could lead to some baroque prose. The following section in a "Contract for Floor-Unit Open House," which floor residents were expected to sign, illustrated the syndrome:

I realize that any deviation from present policy without my willingness and cooperation to amend detoured behavior; or if continual neglect of open house policy on my part is prevalent, I risk the possibility of having the floor-unit lose its contract. . . . I also agree that I will be instrumental in care-fronting detoured behavior, not as an attempt to come down on another's life style or decision, but to be the responsible person in the contractual community agreement which will bring attention to others that

the above paragraph must be respected by all even in terms of policy with which I may not agree, until just efforts and means have facilitated harmonious change. . . .

"Gobbledygook!" declared John Tiessen in 1977 upon excerpting the contract from his copy of the Manual for Residence Staff Life. "Educational institutions [are] supposed to guard their students against such nonsense, not fall prey to it" (*Record*, Nov. 10, 1977). Dawn Ruth, observing with little pleasure in 1974 that the old words "friendship," "personality," and "being nice to people" had been supplanted by the new terms "relationship," "personhood," and "affirmation," located the cause in the secular encounter group movement. The Mennonite Church was borrowing its terminology there, and, she added, with Goshen College as accessory, was fostering "psychological hypochondria" (*Record*, May 17, 1974).

Students could dismiss the vocabulary of sensitivity; they savaged, for example, the unfortunate "care-fronting." But though they were as a whole hardly "psychological hypochondriacs," students did help drive the sensitivity movement in any number of ways: by choosing to "get their head together" rather than to save the world, or even to venture forward to lead a campus social committee; by reserving their critical attention for the intensely local range of Goshen College; by insisting on individual "space" and rights; and by basing decisions on what they could "feel good" about.

In its religious life the campus tended to pull away from communitarian ideals. The unofficial, peer-enforced ban on overt personal piety among students had lifted somewhat. Student spirituality took subjective, private, and varied turns. Even the extremely popular chapel hymn sing, a worship form whose inspiration lay in group dynamics, could splinter briefly into individualism between hymns, as participants clamored their favorite numbers to the song leader. There was also a significant awakening in the early 1970s in Goshen and environs to charismatic worship. Places of worship like the Glory Barn south of Goshen and the local Zion Chapel, the latter led by college alumnus Victor Hildebrand, attracted young people, including some college students. The charismatic community stood in contrast to typical Mennonite churches most obviously in its encouragement of potent worship experiences and direct individual revelation. The movement came quietly to campus, too. Beginning in the winter of 1971, students and faculty who had visited a charismatic worship group at the University of Notre Dame began weekly campus prayer and praise meetings that often attracted over one hundred worshipers.

Prayer and praise on a larger scale came to campus on Pentecost weekend, May 19-21, 1972, in the Festival of the Holy Spirit, convened by new President J. Lawrence Burkholder and sponsored by the college, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, and a number of Mennonite Church conferences. At first, there was something incongruous about the college,

historically seen by many Indiana-Michigan Mennonites as an island of effete intellectualism, flinging open its gymnasium doors to accommodate a primarily grassroots trend. Unlike the more customary college conferences or symposia which gathered participants from a smallish Mennonite academic pool, the festival and subsequent similar gatherings drew large numbers from local and midwestern rural Mennonite communities. At least one student, viewing the event from an academic point of view, did frankly admit discomfort with the "super-emotional high" and "anti-theological mindset" coloring some sessions. Yet as it welcomed on campus a style of Mennonite worship unusual in its tradition, the college contributed color of its own to the proceedings. Participants left the event feeling that in its mass turnout (around 2,000 people), artful banners, new songs of praise introduced by Mary K. Oyer, and balance of teaching and personal expression, the Festival of the Holy Spirit at Goshen College had achieved a meeting of hearts and minds. After weighing its pros and cons, the same student reviewer concluded affirmatively of the event, "I doubt that anything quite so akin to a Goshen College 'Woodstock' will come along for many years."³² The college hosted festivals for a number of years. All successfully combined the spontaneity of a "happening" with a structure of imaginative organization.

In the fall of 1980, Campus Ministries had undertaken to create, at students' request, a meditation room where students might repair for private devotions. Of course, a peaceful spot suited to meditation could be hard to find on any modern college campus, and Goshen was no exception. Yet one also wonders at the necessity, in Goshen's particular case, of setting up a designated devotional hideaway. In earlier years—perhaps as long ago as the 1950s—one's dormitory room, at least for a great many students, served naturally as a place where students prayed openly.

Another less obviously spiritual aspect of campus religious life was the increasing attention given to Mennonites as a distinct ethnic and demographic entity. The issue of Mennonite identity faced the institution as a whole, since fewer Mennonite young people were matriculating. The desire to preserve the Mennonite character of the college led the Board of Education to mandate a minimum quota of Mennonite enrollees, 65 percent. Others saw in the quota the threat of ethnicity without identity.³³

But the move reflected a broader trend within the Mennonite Church to clarify its identity as a "people." After roughly fifty years of emphasizing the theological in Anabaptist history, studies of Mennonite life and thought were branching in the directions of sociology, anthropology, folklore, and art. The American experience in Mennonite history commanded new attention. In 1975 Professor J. Howard Kauffman with fellow sociologist Leland Harder published *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later*, the results of extensive, long-term surveys on attitudes and style of life conducted among

Mennonites.³⁴ In the 1980s, a series of four volumes called "The Mennonite Experience in America" was launched to explore "three hundred years of Mennonite history in the New World," according to the editorial committee chair.³⁵ Some chroniclers of Mennonite life departed from the scholarly genre upheld by the *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* to write for a more popular audience on topics such as Mennonite quilts, customs, and traditional foods, almost all of which had as their immediate background an American context. Mennonite relief sales around the country advertised food and wares that possessed a self-consciously ethnic marketability. The portrayal of Mennonites or Mennonite folkways in works of fiction signaled that a new generation of Mennonite writers had established at least a degree of ironic distance from their own people. It also meant that some Mennonites were finding it appropriate to depict some of the purely ethnic Mennonite traditions as representative of the faith. Local historical societies established information centers and museums to preserve and display Mennonite or Amish artifacts and to interpret a traditionally isolated people to the public.

The church was slowly warming to the possibility of accepting the idea of Mennonite art. Goshen College hosted a number of conferences on Mennonite art and writing during this period. But what did the label Mennonite mean? Any and all work done by Mennonites? About them? Professor Marvin Bartel's series of ceramic pieces from around 1972, on which he screened in clay slip a seventeenth-century image of Menno Simons, met those criteria and then transcended them in their artistry. To be sure, most students did not concern themselves overmuch with theoretical questions about Mennonite art. But both Mennonite and non-Mennonite students at Goshen in the 1970s were prone to single out the church's cultural features, as if these were sufficiently representative of a faith. It seemed as though many students criticized denominational parochialism, while at the same time fondly commemorating historically Mennonite culture. Around 1975, one might have even observed that a few students affected something like romantic-conservative chic—wearing beards, overalls, the occasional black broad-brimmed hat, mid-calf calico dresses, dark stockings, or black shawls.

The best example of Goshen students celebrating and reinforcing their ethnicism, this one under thin cover of satire, came in 1973 at the hands of Glenn Conrad and a spring term *Record* staff. Basing their design on popular board games like "The Game of Life," and "Careers," Conrad and company offered "The Mennonite Game, or Was Your Mother a Moyer from Archbold?," printing the design, rules for play, and game equipment in the center pages of the *Record*. Choosing different routes, players proceeded toward the goal of the chairmanship of the General Board of the Mennonite Church, at the same time accumulating stars for their crowns. "Trials

and Tribulations" cards detained players along their way ("You have fallen in with the hippie crowd at Goshen College. Wander aimlessly off the board and start all over"). One such way station was called "Oaklawn," where one might "score two stars for the tribulation but miss one turn for therapy." As play concluded, everyone moved to an area designated "Greencroft," the retirement center east of campus, to count stars and thus determine the winner (*Record*, May 11, 1973).

The humor of the game worked in a number of ways. The most elementary joke was its name, with obvious reference to the ritual hunt for common friends and relations Mennonites like to pursue when first meeting. Another humorous level on which the game worked was its sheer predictability for the generation who created it and giggled over it. True, there were a few laughs at the expense of past formulas, such as calling a player's roll of the dice "casting lots" and referring to the game's punitive downward chutes as "backsliding" ("Your Ph.D. goes to your head. Backslide."). And the creators did add a pinch of Anabaptist trivia (e.g. two stars awarded to the player who could spell "Balthasar Hubmaier"). Yet for the most part, the Goshen Class of 1973 could picture itself eventually playing out in real life the conceits of the game: entering church work or graduate school, repairing to "Oaklawn" as necessary, and retiring to Greencroft. There was very little in "The Mennonite Game" that was implausible or outrageous. Its wit lay in its truth-telling; its audience embraced and broadcast these ethnic foibles. The spirit behind "The Mennonite Game" affirmed the habits, hang-ups, and genealogical "heritage" it gently sent up. "The Mennonite Game" made an interesting counter-exhibit to *Menno-Pause* of six years earlier. While *Menno-Pause* declared queasy alienation from Mennonite tradition, the 1973 publication implied a jovial willingness to play along, at least to manipulate the familiar ethnic counters. Students reprinted "The Mennonite Game" with few alterations three times in the next decade.

For some, it should be pointed out, the heavy insistence on religious ethnicity could make Mennonite "peoplehood" feel like a millstone, rather than a cozy, if at times patronized, role in a vast, quaint family reunion. A cartoon sketched in 1977 by student Dirk Eitzen humorously encapsulated something of the way Mennonite young people could find themselves highly self-conscious about that label. Eitzen's cartoon depicted two fellows, John and George, eyeing a female student across campus.

John: Boy, you got some mighty sexy-looking Menno chicks here.

George: I wouldn't refer to them that way if I were you.

John: No?

George: Some of them are pretty self-conscious about being Mennonite. (*Record*, March 4, 1977).

Perhaps the scrutiny given ethnicity in the 1970s occurred in part because it was easier for Mennonites to trade in the currency of trademark family names and behaviors than to fix any single identity on the current, evolving denomination. Mennonite pluralism and acculturation arranged themselves like a stage set behind the pragmatic and individualist dramas played out during the Burkholder years. One might select as two somewhat arbitrary parameters of Goshen's adaptation to American dress, for example, the successful 1971 Women's Housing Government Association request that women be permitted to wear slacks at any hour on campus, and a 1980 dining hall fashion show, whose affront to Mennonite simplicity and modesty was protested by sprinting student "streakers." If garb supplied one historical gauge of twentieth-century Mennonite conservatism, it was worth noting that Lawrence Burkholder was the first Goshen president never to wear the plain coat while in office.³⁶ Indeed, the issue of attire rapidly receded in priority for college officials as the 1970s brought to bear more urgently on campus discipline the pressures of on-campus dancing and alcohol use.

The American Mennonite Church at large could no longer be thought of as a monolithic, conservative entity within which the church colleges offered the sole evidence of acculturation. The college lifted its prohibition against dancing in 1986. One among several motivating factors was a survey of Mennonite youth attending the Church's 1983 General Assembly at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. That survey showed that 87 percent of the pre-college teens polled either danced socially or did not oppose social dancing. Mennonite congregations which had eased strict nonconformity to browse in Billy Graham-style evangelicalism, affluent consumerism, charismatic worship, or make other detours outside the bounds of more traditional Mennonite church life were sending to college children perhaps more prepared for Goshen's supposed pluralism than Goshen was to receive them. A survey of 417 Goshen students conducted in December 1977 indicated that 85.6 percent of them had at least tried alcohol; a study done in 1960 had showed that only 50 percent had.

Could one attribute that rise in exposure to alcohol since 1960 to the SST program, a reporter asked Dean of Students Norman Kauffmann, in which students were known, on occasion, to accept an alcoholic beverage? Kauffmann declined to make a scapegoat of SST. In fact, he used the occasion frankly to put to rest any illusions that Goshen was the church's last barricade against non-Mennonite influences, the "safeguard" desired by conservative church leaders in the early decades of the century. "I don't think [SST] had a lot to do with [the survey results]," Kauffmann stated. "The Mennonite church has undergone tremendous theological changes during that time period, and there has been a rise in alcohol consumption nationwide. We are assimilated. It's our culture that affects us," Kauffmann

concluded, suggesting that perhaps the church actively met the world and absorbed it, rather than the other way around (*Record*, October 27, 1978).

"It's our culture that affects us." Those words, spoken in 1978 not by an impatient student hoping to usher in the reality, but by an observant faculty member with his eye on Mennonite youth culture, offers an important clue into the dominant themes at Goshen College during the last half of President Burkholder's term. Accepted or welcomed by some, challenged or contested by others, the premise that Mennonites were increasingly full-fledged members of American society, indistinguishable from their non-Mennonite neighbors, stood at the center of the discussion. In the specific college setting, where acculturation, at least in the scholarly sense, was an ideal, the age-old question of which cultures to appropriate took new, persistent urgency.

Almost seven years to the day after Lawrence Burkholder's inaugural celebrations, Goshen College dedicated the John S. Umble Center, a building devoted to public performance and to theater production in particular. Designed by Massachusetts architect Weldon Pries, an alumnus of Goshen Biblical Seminary, the brick structure was a sophisticated, "highly tuned" building that would enable students and faculty to gain advanced theatrical expertise and provide a relatively intimate yet professional setting for audiences to enjoy plays, lectures, and musical performances.³⁷

From the start of his time in office President Burkholder had taken an active role in determining what form a dramatic arts center might take on campus. At one time, there had been talk of erecting both a overtly rustic barn theater and a top-flight community performing arts complex. In 1974, Lyle and Erma (Martin) Yost offered \$500,000 to enable work on an arts center to begin. Following a two-year construction period, the Umble Center brought together the more intimate performing area of barn theater with the class of state-of-the-art small theater design.

The mood of the Umble Center dedication on November 4, 1978, was wonder and accomplishment on behalf of Goshen College and the further service it might render the larger Goshen community, accompanied by memories of John Umble's legacy of service in developing oratory and literary studies at Goshen, and in helping to build the institution. In the broadest sense of oratory and language arts, theater had been at the heart of the institution's curriculum and inner culture since Elkhart days. But following 1923, staged dramatics had been relegated strictly to extracurricular literary society activities, and then closely monitored. By 1978 few warned against the pitfalls of theatrical representation that had troubled earlier generations, such as the dangerous appropriation of another personality through a dramatic role, or the fabrication and deceit involved in viewing a fictional performance. In fact, throughout the first half of the 1970s, ambitious, morale-building campus shows involving students, staff, and faculty

had drawn on Broadway musicals and classical opera: *West Side Story* (1971), *Fiddler on the Roof* (1973), and *Don Giovanni* (1975). Since 1975, the college had sponsored a concert jazz band, directed by Professor Philip Clemens.

Queries about building a theater had more to do with the march of the Mennonite Church into the courtyard of theatrical culture, whose acceptable precincts included Shakespeare, T.S. Eliot, and even Samuel Beckett, but whose capacious wings also held, to some searching eyes, Hollywood's cynical immorality and the commercial exploitation of players and audiences. Interestingly, some of the most pointed queries about the college's cultural progress at this juncture came from students on campus rather than critical outsiders. Gerald Schlabach, for example, suggested in 1978 that the "losses of 'acculturation'" should not be forgotten in applauding "the gains of 'culture.'" "Some of us . . . do not take so much pride in Goshen College's gradual borrowing of even the best Western cultural forms," Schlabach wrote, "fearing that we are not proving ourselves sufficiently adept at sorting through the values which society sends along with them."³⁸ To any survivor of the Old Goshen cultural struggles who happened to read them, such cautious sentiments from the pen of a 1978 senior must have appeared curious indeed. But it was certainly more difficult, in the television-saturated late 1970s, to articulate what the church might lose in accepting theater than it was to say what, for good or ill, it was to gain. Furthermore, the college's foray into SST, a cultural theater much farther from home than the Umble Center, seemed to excite few misgivings, such as those expressed by Schlabach to a campus theater, about the "borrowing" of "cultural forms." On SST, in fact, a significant if temporary immersion in cultural forms was one important goal of the student's educational experience.

Early in January 1979, President Burkholder was said to be dreaming of China and Cuba as sites for future SST units. His personal experience and scholarly interest in China made it a logical focus for the institution's already well-established international program. Trips to the People's Republic of China by Lawrence Burkholder in 1975 and by Lawrence and Harriet in 1979 convinced their educational contacts there that this engaging, respectful, knowledgeable couple must represent an institution of like qualities. Negotiations pursued prior to the 1979 trip led to an agreement made during meetings in China to accept Goshen SST students and leaders at Sichuan Teachers College in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, in the fall of 1980. The Chinese Ministry of Education would select and send to Goshen for a year's study a number of its English professors. Burkholder excitedly telephoned the news back to Goshen's student press upon landing on the west coast. On January 14, 1980, he announced the program in convocation and a news conference.

As vital a dimension as the China connection gave to campus international awareness, much of the quality of Goshen College institutional life



Siddie Oyer and Dean Noah Oyer with their children at their Eighth Street home, ca. 1927. Left to right: Mary, Verna, and John. (John and Carol Oyer—personal collection)



Many "New Goshen" professors served on the faculty for their entire careers. Willard H. and Verna Graber Smith graduated from Goshen College in 1928, joined the faculty in the history and foreign language departments following graduate study, and continued to teach until their retirement in 1971. (Elizabeth Graber Stoltzfus, Willard H. Smith—personal collections)



Victims with the Daughters of Zion, 1930.

Halloween masquerade 1930. Photographs of this student costume party provoked Board of Education member J.B. Smith to label and distribute copies in an open letter to Mennonite ministers. (AMC)



"Mental Poise": President S.C. Yoder and Professor Edward Yoder, ca. 1937. (AMC)



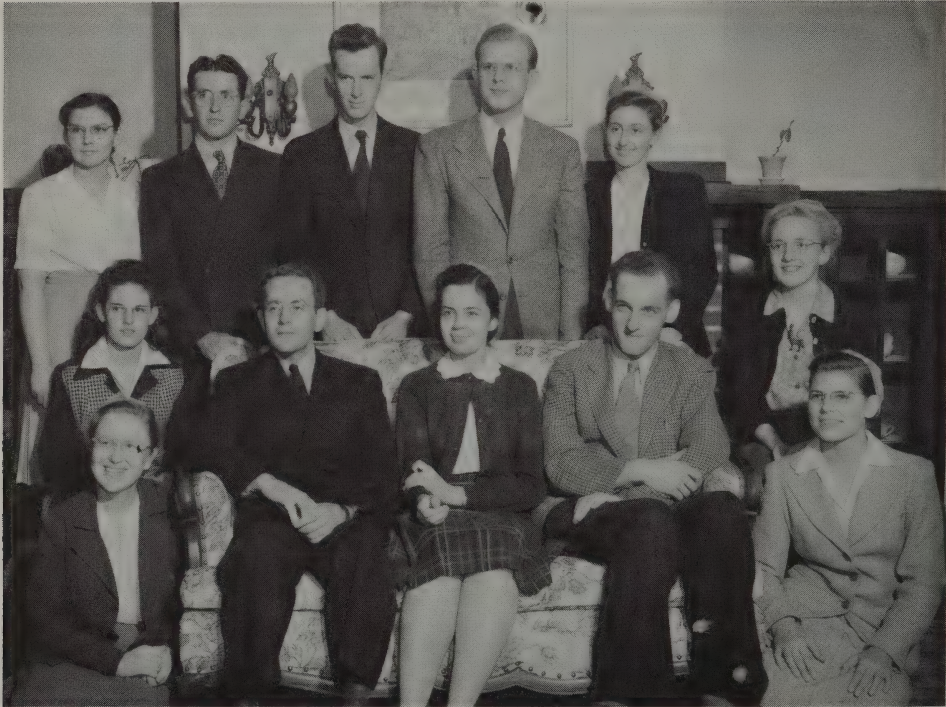
Goshen College Shirt Factory, Coffman Hall basement. Some students earned tuition during Depression years by fabricating work shirts. Joseph E. Brunk (pictured here) managed the factory from 1934 to its close in 1937. (Mabel V. Brunk—personal collection)



Officers of the Mennonite Historical Society, 1943-1944, the year of Bender's "Anabaptist Vision" and Hershberger's *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*. Left to right: S.C. Yoder, John S. Umble, H.S. Bender, J.C. Wenger, Guy F. Hershberger. (MHL)



President Ernest E. Miller at his office desk, 1948. (MHL)



Church Relations Committee, Young People's Christian Association, 1946-1947. Standing (left to right): Lois Yake (Kenagy), Ernest Martin, Chair John W. Miller, Ray Horst, Dorothy Mann (Horst). Seated: Chair Elaine Sommers (Rich), Wilma Miller (Farmwald), Carl E. Yoder, Flora Jean Hostetler (Martin), Jan Matthijssen, Mary Eleanor Bender, Eunice Hartman (Byler). (John and Pauline Fisher—personal collection)



Campus courtship in the 1940s often involved periods of separation for student couples, thanks to the interruptions of World War II, Civilian Public Service assignments, and volunteer relief work abroad. Here Pauline Clemens and John J. Fisher of the Class of 1948 reunite. (John and Pauline Fisher—personal collection)



Students at Goshen College have always enjoyed the friendly competition of intramural athletics. Featured in this winning softball team are: (first row) Burnett Martin, Howard Kauffman, D. Paul Miller, Richard Showalter; (second row) Lester Zimmerman, Arthur Weaver, Ray Bair, Elton Gunden, Dennis Miller, Orie Gingerich. (MHL)



Tables for six in Kulp Hall basement Dining Hall, 1940s. (MHL)



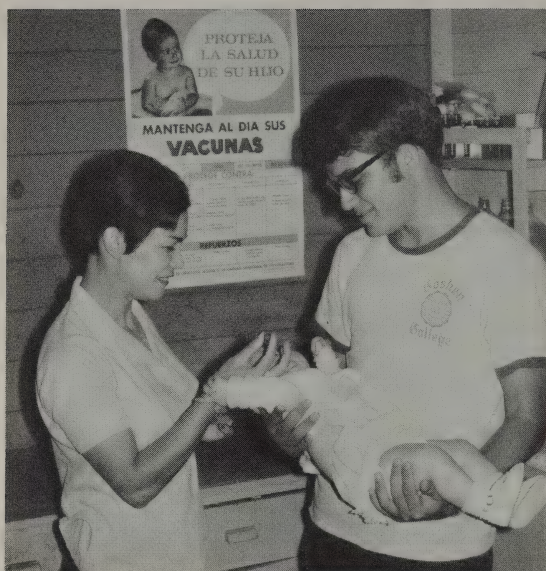
Pennants, Pocket Books, Sheaffer's pens: Goshen College Bookstore in the new Union Building, 1950s. (MHL)



President Paul Mininger and Mary Mininger
greet students of the 1960s.
(College Relations)

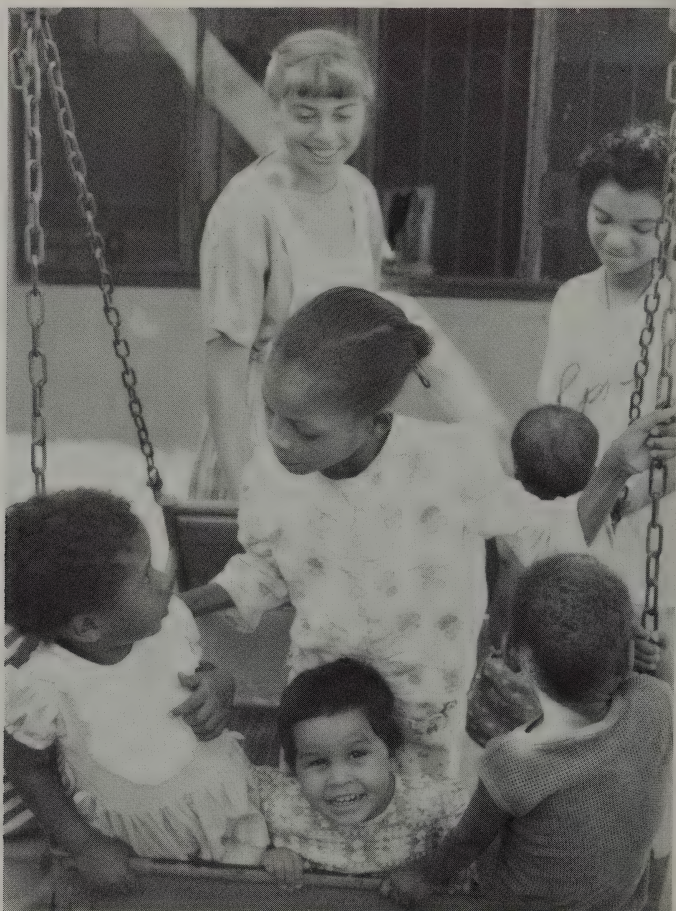


Faculty colleagues, 1962. Left to right: C. Norman Kraus, Mary K. Oyer, Franklin C. Bishop, Henry D. Weaver. (*Maple Leaf* 1962)



Merle Gingerich assists with vaccinations during the Study-Service Trimester in Costa Rica. (College Relations).

Cynthia Friesen enjoys her SST assignment in Dominican Republic. (Information Services)





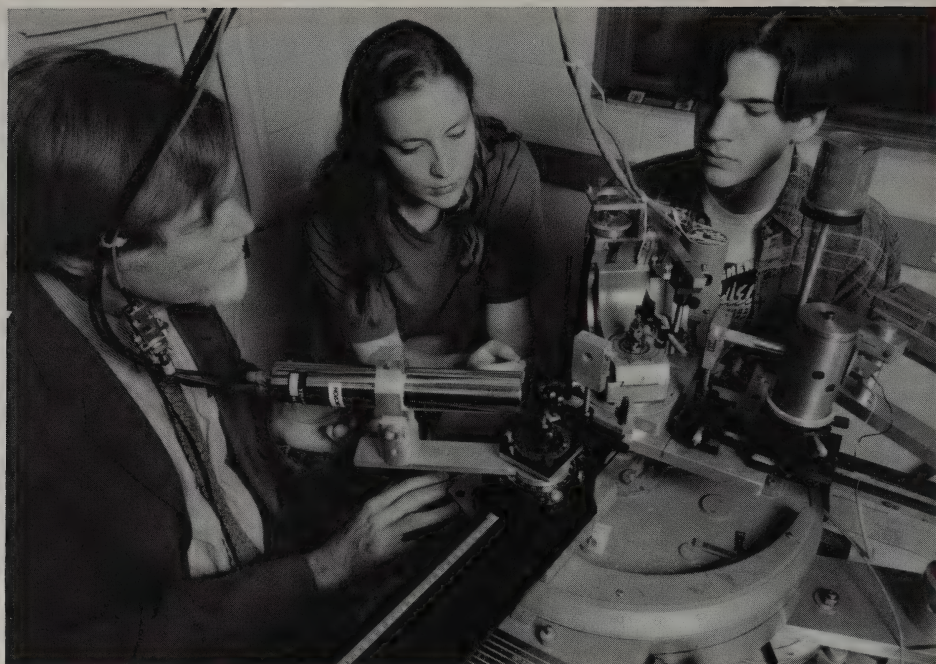
J. Lawrence Burkholder, tenth president of Goshen College, with Harriet Burkholder. (College Relations)



President Burkholder and Harriet Burkholder announce the establishment of a Study-Service Trimester exchange program with the People's Republic of China, January 1980. (College Relations)



Soccer coach John Ingold and President Burkholder discuss a 1970s soccer match. (College Relations)



With the help of a major gift from industrialist Basil Turner, Professor of Physics Robert Buschert established the Turner Precision X-Ray Measurement Laboratory in 1970, an undergraduate research program specializing in x-ray crystallography. Here Professor Carl Helrich reviews procedures with students Jessica Graber and Eric Harley. (Information Services)



Ebony Voices choral group. Front row: Yvonne Young, Robin Parker, Vonzell Holly, Gwen Edwards. Second row: Loretta Seigle, Mechelle Wilson, Regina Shands, Kim Farmer. Third row: Marvin Wright, William Freeman, Darrell Broaddus, Tony Brown, Kerry Broaddus, Wesley Parker. (MHL)



Dawn Yoder, Galen Martin, Ervin Bomberger and Ruth Miller Roth (left to right) dance the Virginia Reel at Brunk's Cabin, 1980. (Lee Miller—personal collection)



WGCS student radio announcer Gail Mann, early 1980s. (MHL)



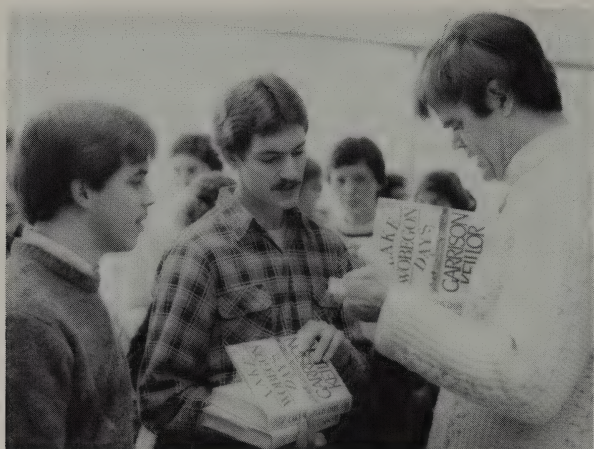
"Flower in the crannied wall. . . .": Professor of Biology S.W. Witmer. (College Relations)



President Emeritus Ernest E. and Ruth Miller, Class of 1917, enjoy the humor of Professor Frank Bishop while auditing a biology class in 1974. (College Relations)



President Vic Stoltzfus and his wife Marie, congenial hosts at one of the many receptions in their home. (Information Services)

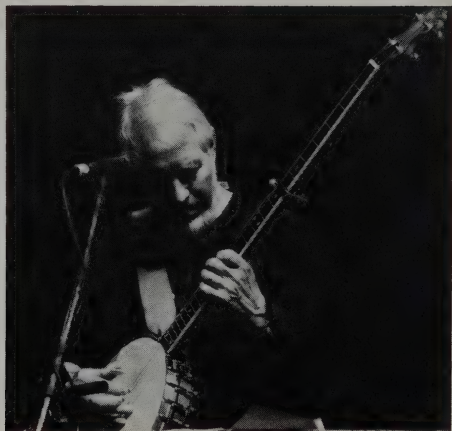


Author Garrison Keillor signs books for Durrell Ramer and Kevin Miller following the 1986 S.A. Yoder Memorial Lecture. (Information Services)



Poet Seamus Heaney, 1992 S.A. Yoder Memorial Lecturer, reads from his work before an Umble Center audience. (Information Services)

Folk singer Bill Crofut at Goshen College, 1992. (*Goshen News* photo by Troy Hill)





Professor of
Economics Carl
Kreider arrives on
campus. Kreider
served as Goshen
College's academic
dean from 1941 to
1970. (College
Relations)

Professor Shirley
Showalter in the
classroom.
(Information
Services)





Josh Wilson serenades Jessica Graber and a campus visitor on the Westlawn-Kulp lawn, Fall 1993. (Anthony Yoder, *The Record*)



Into the Second Century: Graduates greet the future following commencement exercises, 1993. From left: David Mosemann, Scott Schmucker, Jason Samuel, Pat Leaman, Brian Miller, Shawn Nafziger, Troy Eichelberger. (John D. Yoder, Information Services)

from roughly 1978 through the end of Burkholder's presidency in 1984 had to do with an interior diversity of culture—the “our culture affecting us” that Norman Kauffmann had looked in the eye and named. In 1978, a perceptive student, Mary Hochstedler, grasped one key to the college's diversity. She compared a “Statement of Purpose” developed since 1976 by the Committee on the Mission of the College with the succinct “Concept of Christian Education” that the faculty had approved in 1949. Faculty of the mid-1970s tended to see in their lengthier, more detailed statement a continuation in spirit of the 1949 sentiments, an “affirmation of the tradition.” Some stressed its flexibility as a working document for the decade, a document in transition. Hochstedler noticed that the new statement had, in fact, all but eliminated mention of “discipleship,” which the faculty in 1949, borrowing directly from H.S. Bender's “The Anabaptist Vision,” had called “the essence of Christianity.” Instead, the 1975 document made a guiding principle of “community,” in Hochstedler's finding a word few on campus could define, except to suggest that community “has something to do with communication and has emotional overtones of warm feelings that have to do with sharing, understanding others, and being understood” (*Record*, June 23, 1978).

Was it possible for Goshen College truly to be a “free and ordered space”?³⁹ The emphasis on community, a concept carrying in the late 1970s fewer implications of discipline than of mutual appreciation and tolerance, at its best implied freedom, learning, and commonality. But if the central thrust of late-1970s community was “understanding . . . and being understood,” sooner or later the maxim of Madame de Staël, “To understand all is to indulge all,” would haunt the classrooms, dorm rooms, and board rooms of a college whose denomination was in transition.

The necessity of tolerance and the limits of diversity competed at the heart of many mundane campus occurrences. When students in 1977 disagreed about flying the U.S. flag on campus, one opinion board contributor called it a “symbol of death.” Anticipating Norman Kauffmann on alcohol use, *Record* editor John Tiessen's editorial retorted: “Are we uptight about Old Glory or ourselves. . . . The issue at stake is not that the flag represents something we do not like. It represents us” (*Record*, December 2, 1977). A 1978 feature article covered an excursion of Goshen students whose search for an off-campus dancing venue ended at Shula's, a Niles, Michigan nightclub. The article depicted a carefree occasion in which Goshen students enjoyed wholesome fun moving about the dance floor. Still, one participant asked that she not be identified. She didn't feel guilty about dancing at Shula's, she insisted, but “my grandparents wouldn't understand” (*Record*, October 27, 1978). In 1981, the library staff reluctantly installed in the Good Library entry an electronic exit gate, designed to detect unprocessed books in patrons' backpacks or satchels. They had concluded after study that stu-

dents, who increasingly “borrowed” items without checking them out, tended also to borrow them indefinitely.

Campus subgroups drew attention to the question of Goshen’s receptiveness to diversity. Some faculty and students, for example, were beginning to give notice to gender as a primary, self-conscious distinguisher of human identity. In the 1970s and early 1980s, discussions about gender focused primarily on women. The college community had supported women’s groups of some sort from the beginning, with the formation at Elkhart Institute of women’s literary societies, and, shortly after the college’s move to Goshen, the dispatch of women’s delegations to YWCA summer conferences. In the Old Goshen period as well, an annual program called Sisters All brought together for a social gathering women of Goshen College with the women members of College Mennonite Church. In 1960, wife of the president Mary Miner and Harriet Burkholder founded the Goshen College Women’s Association, which sponsored informal programs and fellowship for female professors and faculty spouses.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, women students formed “Women’s Liberation” and “Women’s Awareness” groups in order more explicitly and self-consciously to discuss and to publicize women’s issues. In 1981, the campus hosted workshops devoted particularly to women’s interests; “assertiveness training” emerged as the most popular such class (*Record*, May 29, 1981). In 1982, one such workshop addressed “Women and Depression” (*Record*, March 19, 1982). Following 1981, some faculty and staff women began meeting regularly over brown bag lunches. A group of female students, meanwhile, seeking a way to address women’s issues in a collective, extracurricular setting, in 1980 formed the Goshen Student Women’s Association (GSWA). They met for discussion and planned “Chocolate House,” an occasional performance-and-refreshment gathering that showcased women’s contributions to history and the arts. Growing interest in women’s issues as an area of academic study led to the formation of a Women’s Studies Advisory Committee, chaired by Professor of Social Work Anna Bowman. It eventually recommended that Goshen offer a minor in women’s studies—a field coming into its own at the time in the American university curriculum. Goshen implemented a Women’s Studies minor in the fall of 1983.

Other subgroups, organized around ethnic origin, pressed for recognition of diversity. And the college, in fact, continued in its efforts to introduce cultural diversity to the student body. In 1981, Hispanic students (48), recruited for a new Mennonite Church program in Hispanic ministries, outnumbered Black students on campus (25). Yet another topic receiving more open campus attention, human sexuality, certainly excited diversity of opinion. While discussions of gender or ethnicity mainly centered on the limits of cultural understanding, to talk about sexuality in the context

of church community inevitably invited an examination of ethical boundaries. In all of these forums, the proper relationship among freedom, discipline, faithfulness and tolerance seldom appeared simple or became immediately obvious. To their credit, the students who risked venturing into these controversial topics usually did so with seriousness and maturity.

In 1978, a *Record* spoof inadvertently revealed the significance given the various subgroups emerging on campus by their members. A mini-backlash, or perhaps little more than an amused indifference, to minority and women's consciousness-raising appeared to inspire two of the portraits included in a *Record* "Gallery of April Fools." One portrait, sending up the college's minority recruitment emphasis, depicted found-objects of dormitory life, thrown together, mannequin-like, as a newly-recruited "Eskimo Mexican" student, and his skeletal counterpart, "the only dead student in an Indiana college." The other portrait revealed two male upperclassmen, outfitted in plain garb as "John and Ruth Schaumtz," with John's hand planted unambiguously on Ruth's black cape-dress bodice. Mr. Schaumtz, the photo caption informed readers, "prides himself on keeping abreast of women's movements. . ." (*Record*, March 30, 1979). The Gallery—clearly identified as an April Fool's Day jest—prompted a fuller and more vehement response than anything *Record* had published in that trimester. "Ethnic jokes are not funny. . .," one respondent informed the editor a week later. "Let me . . . add male-chauvinistic jokes are also not funny. . . . I would prefer you not talking about anybody, but if you must, 'Talk about yourself.'" J.D. Stahl, the paper's editor, responded to the flurry of mail in flabbergasted understatement, saying "it appears that *Record* has finally hit upon that which is relevant, complicated, and of some emotional concern to the Goshen College community."⁴⁰

In the early 1980s, greater diversity touched the curriculum, as well, thus ensuring that the faculty would enjoy a round of lessons in tolerance. Old watchwords of liberal arts education like breadth, aesthetics, and transcendence, appeared across the nation's campuses to be challenged by words born of the prevailing economics and politics: specialization, technology, and the bottom line. An actual computer culture, for instance, which at Goshen back in the late 1960s had been presented as a distant, futuristic possibility, was a reality of American life by 1980. In the eyes of some Goshen faculty and administrators, the inevitable vocational demand for computer literacy made it only logical that the college introduce computer science as part of its curriculum. Moreover, by September 1983, enrollment had fallen to 987 students: the lowest figure in two decades. College planners saw in the growing field of computer science an important means of attracting new students (*Record*, November 12, 1982, and September 23, 1983). On March 11, 1982, the faculty approved a recommendation of the Curriculum and Instruction Committee that Goshen offer a major in com-

puter science. Advocates of the major had stressed the opportunity for a Christian, liberal arts school to influence a more vocation-oriented science. New academic dean Victor Stoltzfus said of the creation of the computer major, "This is the way information is moving. . . . As with Gutenberg and the introduction of moveable type, computers will make the transfer of knowledge speedier and cheaper. They won't alter what we're trying to do at Goshen College, but simply how we do it" (*Record*, March 19, 1982).

Other faculty, using some variety of humanities-based calculus, figured that making room at Goshen for computer science would slowly nudge out the traditional liberal arts. As in the case of those who questioned building a theater, the computer science skeptics were not simply retrogrades opposed to progress. To be sure, the mechanistic nature of the new technology in question may have gotten in the way of some critics' appreciation of its applications: from the uninitiated, even dismissive perspective of the non-user, computer training promised to yield glorified typists or, at its highest level, senior key punch operators. But the broader, better informed view concentrated on what might be displaced at Goshen College, should the computer major signal a larger shift in emphasis toward vocational training. In 1977, before computer science as such had become an agenda item, Professor Mary Oyer had commented as a member of the Curriculum Committee and chair of the Humanities Division on recent cutbacks of academic program made in light of the economic pinch:

I am very much in favor of a vocational training, but I think we are cutting back on the liberal arts and that troubles me. We are moving into a computer age, and we need to balance it with the kinds of things that the arts can bring. We need to speak to both the rational and nonrational in people (*Record*, December 2, 1977).

The cutbacks we choose reflect the kind of school Goshen College will become, Oyer had said. Now some wondered whether the program the college had chosen to support in 1983 would determine Goshen's future. Asked for his perspective on recent vocational trends, Carl Kreider pointed out circumspectly that from the start Mennonites had carried into education the values of "rural, hard-working people." They kept at least one eye on future employment. Goshen College had always had its practical streak; the importance Goshen gave to teacher education, for example, bore that out (*Record*, November 12, 1982). This computer culture took its place among other specialized campus subcultures.

To the mounting concern of administrators and parents alike, campus social culture in the late 1970s and early 1980s included dancing and drinking. Both activities involved a minority of students—but it was a growing minority, if anecdotal evidence could be trusted to indicate the trend. Since

both activities seemed to be on the rise around the same time, dancing and drinking tended to come in for discussion together. Yoking the two behaviors for consideration was logical up to a point, since they were by necessity pursued off campus and indeed tended to crop up at the same designated apartment or dance hall. But treating drinking and dancing as equally pernicious ironically bound more tightly together what were separate issues requiring independent inquiry. The eventual decision to allow dancing on campus in 1986 seems to have emerged when administrators and board members concluded that holding dancing at arm's length off campus any longer would complicate, not resolve, the more worrisome problem of student alcohol use.

A semiformal dance planned by three students, held off campus in December 1980, drew over one hundred students. Almost three years later, three hundred participated in a fall off-campus dance (*Record*, January 6, 1983). The elaborate, if transparent, conspiracy undertaken by student organizers to publicize these events, while technically avoiding institutional complicity, itself provided advance entertainment. Organizers of the Orwell-inspired "Big Brother Boogie," scheduled to coincide with the arrival of 1984, spread news of the event by way of coded *Campus Communicator* announcements about a "special forum" planned for Friday, January 20, signed by the "Orwellian Society" (*Record*, January 27, 1984). From the institutional point of view, one glaring point of ambivalence regarding the large, student-run off-campus dances was that dances spilled, in an unsanctioned, non-Goshen College event, hundreds of Goshen students into the community's rental halls: the Elks Lodge, the Schrock Pavilion in Shanklin Park, the FOP Lodge, and the facilities of the VFW, of all incongruous places. There were few angles from which such activity could look good to Goshen citizens—except, perhaps, to those youthful citizens who joined the dance. Here were crowds of students from the local Mennonite college, behaving as most full-blooded American college kids were expected to behave. Somehow, though, to gyrate to music by The Police in the FOP Lodge of downtown Goshen was not the way the community wished Goshen students to behave, nor, as the administration realized in perplexity, the way they wished their students to behave. Why was local dance so much more troubling than that of a Costa Rican family fiesta, or than a Mardi Gras *meringue* improvised on the street with new Haitian friends?

President Burkholder had stated a frank administrative position on dancing in December of 1976 that suggested students would have to live with the ambiguity. In that instance, the college had rented its performance hall—the Union Auditorium—to Goshen High School fund-raisers who sponsored the Up With People singing group. The group's music was aggressively energetic and, given the American bicentennial year, overtly patriotic. Though technically the college had not invited or sponsored the

show, some students objected to their presence on campus. Apart from the militaristic gymnastics, they pointed out, how could Goshen forbid student dancing while making room for the highly choreographed Up With People troupe? Burkholder, wielding some trademark abrupt humor, deflated the crisis. "Their performance was technically good, but they had no real message," he dismissed the ensemble. He termed the performance "secular fluff," adding that "even if that jumping around was dancing," no precedent had been set. "Dancing is a kind of nutty issue anyway," Burkholder was quoted. "The Mennonite Church traditionally has a taboo against it, and, frankly, we've been trying to avoid a crisis concerning it. The decisions over it have to be pretty arbitrary. Total consistency over such an issue is suffocating."

In early 1984, the Board of Overseers had decided to sustain its regulation forbidding social dances on campus. The opinion board had been filled throughout the fall with student demands and petitions that dancing be allowed on campus. On January 13, Dance Kaleidoscope, a modern dance troupe, gave its second performance on campus. The college sponsored weekend "folk games" and offered physical education courses in folk dance. The Assembly congregation, a vital Mennonite body which included many college faculty families and students among its members, had originated in the early 1970s out of the considerable interest at Goshen College in small group worship and house church fellowships. Assembly's worship services regularly incorporated interpretive dance into worship. The dancing issue took an extra twist in 1981, when the college's cable television subscription made available in campus lounges the seldom stationary images of Music Television rock video performers.

That the college's dancing policy would change seemed inevitable, yet in early 1984 it had not, despite all the seeming inconsistencies. But Burkholder's point—that stamping out all forms of dance on campus would have suffocated the community's freedom to discriminate among them—had been well-taken. When the regulation finally gave way, it did so within a prepared context.

Burkholder also led ably on the insistent issue of alcohol use. By the late 1970s, the church, as well as the college, felt the need to examine what had for decades remained virtually untouched. The SST program sent students to imbibing cultures, it was true. But Mennonites generally were traveling for leisure by the 1970s. Those students' grandparents, aunts, or uncles might tour in Europe to discover fellow Mennonites there, loyal and even quite conservative in the faith, serving a Sunday bottle of wine or even producing the vintage themselves. Non-Mennonite fellow students, graduate instructors, or coworkers were also exposing more church members to American drinking habits. As the Mennonite world opened wider, cultures

of all kinds crept in.

Other measured voices cautioned against relaxing standards on this point. Professors Jonathan Roth and Dr. Willard Krabill, among others, stressed that if legalistic puritanism was waning among Mennonites regarding alcohol use, reasons of health and stewardship surely compelled them to abstain. And there was evidence that some Goshen students used alcohol to excess: a problem, whatever the changing cultural mores. Through this wilderness President Burkholder laid a path of reasoned concern. At the request of the Council of Faith, Life, and Strategy of the Mennonite Church, he wrote the booklet *To Drink or Not to Drink*, a statement whose ideas he had introduced in preliminary form for discussion by the faculty and at a Goshen College Alcohol Education week held in November 1979, and which appeared that month as an article in *Gospel Herald*. "As Christians and as citizens, our responsibility lies in the direction of discouraging [the use of alcohol]. One's practice and one's testimony should have a negative impact on alcohol consumption," Burkholder wrote, suggesting that deliberate efforts to seek out a drink, or to serve alcohol to others, should remain out-of-bounds. Under that guideline, two courses remained: total abstinence, and "non-use," the latter implying avoidance of alcohol as a general rule while retaining the freedom to choose to drink when courtesy, fellowship, or ceremony suggested its appropriateness.⁴¹ College regulations against campus use of alcohol remained in place.

Against this backdrop of pluralism and acculturation yet another shift in student outlook gradually made itself clear at Goshen. Somewhere around 1980, numerous student initiatives began to point toward a version of American conservatism, attributable, at least in part, to a national trend being set among American youth. Debate, perceived in the 1960s as the preserve of gentlemen lawyers and fraternity brothers, and jettisoned as such at Goshen, had been revived around 1976 by an influx of interested male and female students who received encouragement from faculty coach Al Albrecht. There had been the request for more aggressive faculty vocational counseling noted in 1978. Dress headed in the direction of classic American collegiate clothing, though prep-school style at Goshen was never full-blown. Commencement caps and gowns, having been rejected by students in 1972 for casual dress, came back by the early 1980s. In March 1982, student John F. Lapp wrote a levelheaded piece arguing the reasonableness of a certain amount of institutional rules (*Record*, March 5, 1982). In years past the unusual, patient, antiheroic demeanor of Goshen coaches, exhibited in any number of contests to many successful ends, had endeared Goshen teams and coaches to their fans, instilling a kind of countercultural pride in the fact that Goshen did sports differently. But in the spring of 1982, a sizable group of student athletes criticized what they deemed Goshen's deliberately noncompetitive approach to sports. Around the same

time, some students petitioned the history department to enroll in a national student honor society. And the registrar's office, at students' request, began calculating grade point averages in the interests of producing more competitive transcripts and résumés.

A bit of mainstream-cultural brashness also seemed to touch the campus. Early in 1981, several students organized behind the idea that student-run evaluations of all professors should appear in published form. Students, depicted now in the role of paying customers, would use such a guide in selecting courses; another function of the published evaluations, presumably, was to enhance teachers' competitive spirits across the departments. One writer implied that professorial seniority was problematic in itself, hinting darkly that the college would not survive without "new blood." Learning is a two-way street, countered a respondent, Curt Holsopple. "Besides," Holsopple added of the faculty, "I don't think you could find a true dud in the bunch" (*Record*, February 27 and June 19, 1981; February 12 and February 19, 1982).

Students of the early 1980s, in the time-honored way of students, agitated for change. But oddly enough, in light of the socially radical agenda of less than one generation before, at least a sector of these 1980s students were urging their administrators, faculty, even parents, to leave Mennonite quirkiness for something like a middle American bandwagon. While often presented in shocking or extreme ways, many of the so-called new, radical values advanced in the 1960s had struck a chord with educated Mennonites. Nonresistance, social action grounded in love, the embrace of pacifism: these had been old ideas, from a historically Mennonite point of view.

As the Goshen College community wended its way through this strange new era that somehow made American conservatism and the new version of Mennonite liberalism seem synonymous, at least two clusters of events reminded the community of historical Mennonitism, recent and ancient. One kind of reminder came in the voice of the conservative church. That voice spoke in the "Smoketown Statement" responding to liberalism in the Mennonite Church, issued in July 1979. It was heard on campus that year and in 1980, when concerned pastors from Illinois and Indiana expressed alarm about literature and Bible teaching being offered Goshen underclassmen. Diane and Dennis MacDonald, enthusiastic Mennonite Bible professors whose academic preparation and rapport with many students (especially upperclassmen) were excellent, resigned in the spring of 1980 after continuing disagreement within and without the college about their methods and open discussion of biblical exegesis and pedagogy. In 1983, George R. Brunk II wrote a pamphlet, *The Crisis Among Mennonites*, which criticized books by Goshen professors Don Blosser and Theron Schlabach after having exposed perceived problems at Eastern Mennonite College and the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries.

Another reminder of steadfast Mennonite tradition came from the student body in the fall of 1982. Mark Schmucker, a senior biology major from Alliance, Ohio, stood trial for refusing to register with the Selective Service for the draft, a procedure instituted during Jimmy Carter's presidential term. Schmucker was among the first three nonregistrants in the nation to be indicted for the offense. Twelve or so other Goshen students were nonregistrants at the time of Schmucker's indictment. Bible professor Don Blosser and Goshen's Information Services assistant director Terry Stutzman attended the trial in Ohio. It was difficult for anyone to see in the actual young man on trial a rabble-rouser or superficial shirker of duty. Testifying on his twenty-second birthday, Schmucker stated simply that "Christ calls us to not just be nice people on Sunday, but to live out the Christian life every day." Schmucker was found guilty and sentenced to three years probation, including two years voluntary service, and fined \$4000—though the trial judge expressed her belief in his sincerity, and the prosecuting attorney for the case wept during his final statement. At Goshen, students met for a voluntary prayer service prior to the trial, and during the proceedings kept periodic vigils near the John Mishler "Broken Shields" sculpture at the center of campus. National press coverage of the case included interviews with representatives of Schmucker's small church college in northern Indiana.⁴²

Of course, to focus on the college's struggles to reconcile a multitude of inner cultures following 1978 is to attempt to find large patterns in a big picture. From the broadest perspective, Goshen College's day-to-day life moved along in the irregular rhythm of pinnacles, losses, and good humor that had characterized Goshen life in 1908, or 1948, or 1968. Faculty figured significantly in students' intellectual and personal lives, as they always had. Poet Nicholas Lindsay, for one example, spoke with a voice of thunder and struck a figure in public recitation—head cocked, eyes wide, open hand raised—that communicated powerful poetry and inspired students to try writing verse themselves. Some students with "a touch of the poet" about them actually migrated during this era to the Lindsay home on Edisto Island, South Carolina, for terms of independent study.

Students of French and modern literature found in Professor Mary Eleanor Bender a classroom teacher of quiet brilliance and warm humanity.⁴³ Intermediate French pupils might enter the Aq 21 classroom for the first time prepared, at most, to stumble through a paragraph of de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince*, and instead exit abstractedly considering the pearls Mary Bender had uttered on Bach, Buber, and Bonhoeffer. To intelligence and humanity Bender supplied devotion. She found words to bolster the floundering sophomore in the classroom, for example, or to strengthen the tearful senior sinking into a chair in Bender's book-crammed office. By night, she hunted down students in the dormitory or library, delivering

missed class assignments or other important material. In class, Bender could generously attribute a student's crudest errors to "temporary absent-mindedness"—doubly encouraging to the student, since that state, when observed in Bender herself, was obviously rooted in genius. Something in Mary Bender's brilliant humility, in fact, inspired students in her classes to work very hard. Bender's tribute to Karl Barth, her professor at the University of Basel, written in 1956 when Bender had only recently joined Goshen's faculty, illumines the teacher Bender herself became:

Most of his colleagues straighten up, bristle with professional pride and snap an authoritative, 'Meine Damen und Herrn,' as they begin their lectures; but not so Barth. He slides meekly into his classroom carrying books, coat and hat, all of which he dumps unprofessionally on the desk and putting his mouth somewhere in the neighborhood of his hand, simply starts to speak. . . . I can still see him squinting and holding up two curved fingers in front of his eyes to illustrate a worm which, he said, God cares for too. . . . This humble man, almost childlike in his simplicity, has modern theology at his fingertips. . . . Clothed in simple language and spoken by this almost naive figure come some of the most profound theological insights of our day (*Record*, June 1, 1956).

John S. Oyer, professor of history and editor since 1966 of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, made the life of the mind appear compelling, even physically engaging. Whether pondering aloud, one hand atop his head, in a Goshen classroom, or guiding Goshen-in-Europe students through French pastures and cathedrals, Oyer's springy step seemed to mimic his mental energy. In 1976, an appreciative medieval history student wrote of Oyer that he "stands with one foot in the Middle Ages and the other firmly planted in the present, bridging the gap between for everyone in his class" (*Record*, March 12, 1976).

Indeed, Goshen College professors built their students bridges to all kinds of places. Nick Lindsay, Mary Bender, and John Oyer taught quite differently, yet each was committed to a common, servant-minded, historic faculty ideal. Many similar colleagues surrounded them in the 1970s and 1980s. And together, on occasion, their efforts, creativity, and vitality found collective expression. In August 1981, about 200 faculty and family members devoted their faculty retreat to working up Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*, a "gift to the students," orchestra director Lon Sherer said. The musical send-up of Victorian orphan Frederic, a "Slave of Duty," was zestfully mounted, played, and sung by a group who were themselves not unacquainted with duty's demands. Around campus, congenial staff members like the soft-spoken, efficient postmistress Ruth Keim, the gentlemanly bookstore manager Don McCammon, or the beaming, expansive dining hall

manager Earl Gray, enlivened for students the most mundane college rounds.

Death disrupted the community. Several senior faculty members who had shaped Goshen College in the period following 1924 passed away: S.A. Yoder, only sixty-four, in 1970; former president S.C. Yoder in 1975; Glen Miller in 1980; H. Clair Amstutz in 1984. Death took other faculty in their prime: Marion Bontrager in 1974, Bettie Norman in 1978, Sara K. Hartzler and Alta Hertzler within a month of one another in 1982.

The social events of campus life for the most part were still conducted in a comfortable atmosphere of small campus familiarity. Fall soccer games, for instance, gathered students around sleeping bags in the rickety athletic field bleachers. There a referee's dubious call might provoke at least a few creatively-worded opinions. And soccer half-times in these years could feature a motley band of marching kazoo players, led on high-stepping parade by a drum major waving a toilet plunger—all performed, naturally, to the home crowd's delight and the open-mouthed stares of visiting fans. Often at the center of everything social in the fall were consistently impressive soccer teams.

For a spell in 1975-1976, the campus shared ancient, purple-coated bicycles, parked at convenient locations for communal use or impromptu drag races locations. Colorful *Broadsides* in 1977 became an outlet for the poetry of students, faculty, and visiting dignitaries. With increasing frequency, students opted to cope with the mixed blessings of off-campus life: "I was forced," one apartment-dweller, Paul Conrad, confessed, "to learn to cook—rice with salt, rice with pepper, rice with margarine, rice with ketchup and rice plain. . . . Another off-campus resident tells me that oatmeal in tomato soup makes a quick, filling meal. So does cement, I imagine" (*Record*, June 11, 1976). An enormous snowfall in the winter of 1978 ushered in several days of benign misrule. Administrators canceled classes, volunteers dug out local automobiles and residents, adventuresome students skied down Goshen's streets and leapt into snow banks from the roofs of Miller-Kratz dormitories. Through the years, Goshen audiences and campus visitors, such as the musicians Bill Crofut and the members of the part-alumni band Tanglefoot, or the lecturers in the annual S.A. Yoder Memorial series, enjoyed mutual appreciation. Even some minor tempests had a wry, familiar ring: in 1976, for example, activities organizers pulled the definitive 1960s American coming-of-age film, *The Graduate*, from a scheduled campus series, and replaced it with the musical film, *Oliver!*.

In 1984, J. Lawrence Burkholder retired after thirteen years as president. The Board of Education elected as his successor Victor E. Stoltzfus, a professor of sociology from the University of Illinois who had served as Goshen's dean since 1981. President Burkholder's lofty, aviator's perspective on philosophical matters, his pragmatic understanding of institutional

life, and his genuine, charismatic personal manner had enabled him, with the support of Harriet Burkholder and the assistance of an exceptionally balanced administrative team, to extend and strengthen the bridges linking Goshen College to the Mennonite Church, to the Goshen civic community, and to international friends.

In that achievement, Burkholder had also drawn on the characteristic dedication and persistence of the Goshen College faculty. Early in 1980, the joggers among that faculty had passed a collective milestone of 100,000 charted miles: not a bad metaphor for common achievement through concerted discipline. Student reporter Galen Martin marked the runners' hundred thousandth mile by filing a story from the athletic track and the Union locker room. He discovered a spirit of perseverance. "Goshen College jogging," Martin wrote, "with its charts, pranks, pains and accomplishments, is heading strongly into the '80s. Not long ago, [Robert] Buschert and a friend charted fifteen miles for an afternoon. The next day, [Stanley] Shenk's column read fifteen and a quarter" (*Record*, February 15, 1980).

Eight years earlier, student Luke Roth had interviewed professor of biology emeritus Samuel W. Witmer, asking Witmer to imagine the college's future. A graduate of the Goshen College Class of 1913, a member of the faculty since 1915, and a veteran of the college's closing who had remained at Goshen, Witmer in 1976 possessed more firsthand experience at Goshen College than anyone. Witmer's vision of the future stressed Goshen's resilient character and its abiding priorities. The curriculum had become more broad and advanced, he acknowledged. Students exhibited more varied interests. The college's financial supporters indeed represented a wider constituency. But, Witmer said, for all the expansion and change he had witnessed, "I must say that I have great faith that life at Goshen College can be meaningful to students, as it has been in the past. . . . It would seem that the student body, the faculty, the various supporters do continue to have basically the same ideals with which this college came into existence" (*Record*, May 14, 1976). In 1984, as Goshen College bid the Burkholders farewell, welcomed a new administration, and anticipated the day in 1994 when it would log its one-hundredth anniversary milestone, the words of S.W. Witmer remained, reassuringly, relevant.



Chapter Nine

FAITH BECKONS US FORWARD

LEANING INTO THE FUTURE

1984-1994

... voices from [Goshen College's] past are challenging me: "Why do you believe and behave the way you do? We have good reasons for our standards; what are yours?"

— Richard Beyler, *Record*, November 7, 1986

Our first task," Victor Stoltzfus suggested in 1984 to a meeting of the Goshen College faculty, "is to develop a strategic vision of what we must become in order to enter our turbulent future." Stoltzfus, Goshen College's dean since 1981 and its president-elect, outlined his priorities to the faculty September 5, 1984 (*Record*, September 14, 1984). His assertion of a "turbulent future" spoke astutely to the moment—and not only Goshen College's moment.

In 1984, what Western culture had once seen as far-off milestones of a theoretical future were finally being overtaken by present reality. The year 1984 itself, for example, long a dread symbol of Orwellian future shock, had arrived anticlimactically into the midst of routine life. The close of the twentieth century—surely an apocalyptic moment—appeared on the horizon. Yet many were at a loss to envision the twenty-first century as a continuation of the present, picturing instead implausible scenarios out of science fiction. Late-century developments in the arts and technology were rendering categories such as "post-modern" passé. And short of the ludicrous "post-post-modern," what label could suffice? Keen pursuit in some European and American university faculties of "deconstruction," a theory of criticism that posited almost gleefully the instability of language and meaning, led some despairing traditionalists to imagine the imminent dismantling

of civilization, word by word, by the critics. In 1984, one could feel hastened toward the end of one century without grasping any clear perspective on the next.

The future was at hand, but hard to get hold of. Some Americans in 1984 did not care to try. American political success turned, it seemed, on the instant, the expedient. The president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, a leader notoriously dedicated to short-term policy and deficit spending, enjoyed immense popularity. In that climate, a frank promise to raise taxes doomed the campaign of Reagan's Democratic opponent, Walter Mondale, in the fall of 1984, despite Mondale's warning that responsible realism demanded no less.

Goshen College shared some of the broader culture's late-century uncertainty. The college's own hundredth-year celebration lay but a decade away, in 1994. That anniversary would mark the joyous completion of a historical cycle, but it would also demand of the institution the energy and vision to begin a new one. Fundamental to charting the college's direction in its second century were changing conditions in the Mennonite Church. By 1984, Mennonite pluralism, a trend with significant implications for Goshen College in the early 1970s, had become reality.

Nagging anyone concerned with Goshen's future was the increasing evidence that the former expectation by Mennonite parents that their children would attend a Mennonite college was less automatic. Mennonites' principles of college selection were changing; they now included the consideration of less expensive state institutions, of attractive liberal arts colleges run by other Protestant denominations, or even of prestigious Ivy League schools. In September 1984, J. Lawrence Burkholder had filed with the Mennonite Board of Education a final presidential report that frankly asserted waning support in the church for Mennonite education. Denominational identity was in flux, Burkholder had said.¹

Lighter support by Mennonites for Mennonite education, a sign of church members' readiness to partake of non-Mennonite culture, paralleled a similar trend: American Mennonites' interest in accepting more diverse cultures within the church itself. In the summer of 1984, statistics reported at the Mennonite World Conference held in Strasbourg, France, indicated that the greatest growth in Mennonite Church membership was occurring in Africa and Asia, not North America. "Goshen College is courageously attempting to perform a balancing act," student Ann Minter had written less than a year before President Stoltzfus took office. "Our institution welcomes diversity among its students on campus, but at the same time it is obligated to represent a traditional Mennonite world view. Can the two possibly be compatible?" In addition to Mennonite pluralism, Minter cited the college's international emphasis and its greater recruitment among non-Mennonites among conditions inevitably leading to greater diversity on

campus. "If Goshen College's vision and philosophy are stamped out merely because of popular demand," she concluded, "the uniqueness of GC will be no more. Only as it embraces this uniqueness, can Goshen be secure in opening itself to diversity" (*Record*, February 15, 1984).

Perceptive words, and intriguing. Could it be that the college's essential character, suspected by some in the church as too broad but nevertheless, following the assumption of college ownership by the Mennonite Board of Education in 1905, officially determined by that church, was itself to be threatened by a increasingly diverse Mennonite agenda? Could the uniqueness of the oldest (Old) Mennonite college, once called "the growing edge of the church," actually be subsumed by the rapid advance of that edge?

The strategists of Goshen's future of the early 1980s must have heartily wished, at least occasionally, that trends and flux would pass them by. But from the outset of the new administration, strategic academic planning unavoidably mingled with enrollment management. Demographics, fewer automatic Mennonite enrollees, and competitive vocational programs made it imperative to align the two, in some fashion. Preliminary calculations done in October 1984 indicated that enrollment had dropped for the fourth consecutive year, coming to rest that fall on a figure of 937 full-time students. National economic conditions were affecting many small liberal arts colleges. In a political era unkind to private education, Goshen College faced the additional challenge of attracting Mennonite prospective students—and that pool was shrinking. Thus when President Stoltzfus emphasized to the faculty in the fall of 1984 the importance of confronting the future, a theme not especially unusual for a new executive, his proposal bore the distinction of strategic necessity.

Victor Stoltzfus became Goshen College's eleventh president on October 7, 1984. Inaugural activities over the October 5-7 weekend pointedly acknowledged Goshen's cultural diversity, including an international student procession to the inaugural ceremony, and the planting on campus of a hornbeam tree native to Costa Rica. There were evidences of tradition and continuity. The Afternoon Sabbatical Committee, already effective for a number of years in enhancing ties between community and college, was given charge of hosting a reception for the Goshen community. Saturday afternoon included a community race, "The Stoltzfus Stomp," which Stoltzfus himself ran in and won in the two-kilometer division. With a nod to a young inaugural tradition, students planned "The Big Splash," an encounter in the Schrock Plaza fountain between high-spirited students and the president-to-be.

Strategic planning as outlined by President Stoltzfus has emphasized goals. Initially, the faculty took up the task of clarifying its mission statement—not a "sharp turn in direction, but a refinement and updating of

our educational purpose," as the president explained early in his term (*Record*, September 14, 1984). The resulting statement read:

Goshen College is a four-year liberal arts college dedicated to the development of informed, articulate, sensitive, responsible Christians. As a ministry of the Mennonite Church, we seek to integrate Christian values with educational and professional life. As a community of faith and learning, we strive to foster personal, intellectual, spiritual and social growth. We view education as a moral activity that produces servant-leaders for the church and the world.²

The unfolding, campus-wide plan encompassed curricular issues, campus design and facilities, the spiritual life of the community, and student recruitment and personnel services. The administrative team assisting President Stoltzfus in strategic planning at Goshen College over the decade has included Vice President for Administrative Affairs Alice Roth, Deans Willard Martin and John Eby, former Registrar John Nyce, Business Managers William Zuercher and Mardene Horst Kelley, who is currently in office.³ In the fall of 1988, the Board of Overseers approved a master plan pertaining to development of campus buildings and facilities.

Early in 1985, as the enrollment crisis reached serious proportions, Richard Gerig, a Goshen alumnus with twelve years' service to the college in the areas of student development and alumni relations, succeeded the newly appointed Administrative Vice President, Alice Roth, as director of admissions. Gerig brought to a crucially important, daunting assignment gifts of loyalty, optimism, and wit, fortunate attributes, since things got worse before they got better. The fall of 1985 showed student numbers down again, to a figure lower than that posted in 1965. In early November, the admissions team received a personal blow when Charlotte Hurst, a vivacious coworker, died in an automobile accident.

Yet somehow in the following spring, the same staff, spirits intact and the tentative indications of fall numbers improving, released colorful balloons above the Newcomer Center courtyard; and by the fall of 1986, smiling students demonstrated for the camera an enrollment upturn of more than ten percent by crowding about, leaning out of, and dangling from the open windows of Westlawn dormitory—a scene reminiscent of some exuberant poses struck by Elkhart Institute students eighty years earlier.

Enrollment in the next years nudged its way upward. But to operate the institution, given the reality of a five-year enrollment decline between 1980 and 1985, college strategists were obligated to devise radical budgetary adjustments of some kind, also unenviable work. A Program Review Steering Committee, in consultation with the President's Administrative Cabinet and the Board of Overseers, went to work on the problem, acknowl-

edging that consolidation, however moderated, would be painful. The jaws of the dilemma were awful, no matter how anyone inside the institution examined them: dismissing faculty in the interests of institutional survival would necessarily alter those qualities that made the college worth saving. In November 1986, the administration announced budget reductions totaling \$281,500, an amount which, joined to earlier cuts, brought reductions to \$500,000 (the level recommended by the Board of Overseers). The positions of seven full-time faculty members, most of them career-long employees of the college, were cut from the program. Two academic majors, French and Home Economics, were eliminated entirely.

Consolidation hurt. At times during this period, the college community greeted the future with difficulty. While plenty of the active faculty members in the mid-1980s had lived during the Great Depression, none were old enough to have taught at Goshen during those severe economic times. But a fair number had been students in the 1930s, and retired professors kept memories of the Depression years at Goshen alive. It was difficult in 1986 to reconcile the undeniable reality of economic pressure, bearing down mercilessly on college business as it had fifty years earlier, with a living tradition of mutual assistance, sacrifice, and survival against the odds that had kept the (considerably smaller) faculty family of the early 1930s mostly intact. Times had changed and grown complex. The culmination in 1986 of accumulating financial exigencies demanded from college leaders unsentimental realism. Be that as it may, dismay at the hard necessity of consolidation, uncertainty about its educational implications, and faculty members' sorrow at the loss of colleagues combined to cast at least intermittent shadows over campus spirits.

Yet, as always, remarkably bright occurrences pierced the shadows. Even as enrollment woes mounted, the college began to receive, quite unbidden, recognition of its excellence in the national press. One of the first notices appeared in the November 25, 1985, issue of *U.S. News and World Report*, where a feature titled "America's Best Colleges" cited Goshen College with particular attention to its Study-Service Trimester program.⁴ Grant monies and gifts became available. The Consortium for the Advancement of Private Higher Education (CAPHE) in 1985 provided the college with a \$47,000 grant, administered on campus by Professor Shirley Showalter, to assist various departmental efforts to attract new students. Goshen residents Harold A. and Thelma Hostetler Schrock donated \$1.14 million toward renovation and expansion of Science Hall, a priority project in the college plan. A \$50,000 grant from the Lilly Endowment given in December 1987 would go toward the campus effort to create "an integrated learning environment," a project being explored in the Common Experience Committee by teaching faculty and student development personnel.

Signs of life sparkled in academic and extracurricular areas, on campus and off, in the early years of President Stoltzfus's term. Marie Althouse Stoltzfus, for example, took initiative in the work of the Goshen College Parents' Council. Parents thus had an opportunity for greater influence in their children's education at Goshen, and their ties to the college in turn strengthened Goshen's image in their congregations and local communities. In February 1985, twelve students conceived the idea of giving up classes for a day's Socratic "Symposium." The group holed up in a College Avenue basement to discuss life's eternal questions with the seven professors they had invited to venture down. Student publishing remained vibrant, featuring notable contributions by international students, including the lively *Record* issues of the 1988 winter trimester edited by Ellah Pedzisai Wakatama of Zimbabwe. The 1985 women's field hockey team became state champions.

Construction began on a building in the Florida Keys that would house Goshen's marine biology program, a course conducted in the Keys since 1966. A pioneer SST unit traveled to the Dominican Republic in May 1985. A busy cultural weekend in October 1988, "Festival Internationale!", celebrated the SST program's twentieth anniversary. From amidst its music, dancing, and foods emerged a lasting new tradition: the annual collaborative campus and community Ethnic Fair. In the fall of 1985, a committee formally began to brainstorm about a long-held dream, a new sports complex to take shape somewhere on the south campus.

Speakers and performers enriched campus thought and spirit. Between 1984 and 1989, visitors to campus included old friends of the college. Folk singer Bill Crofut recorded a 1985 sing-a-long with his Goshen audience for a national radio program. Poet-in-Residence Nicholas Lindsay with his wife, DuBose, returned from their Edisto Island, South Carolina home, to read and conduct annual poetry-writing seminars. Endowed lectureships and special occasions brought noteworthy writers Madeleine L'Engle and Garrison Keillor, *Sojourners* magazine editor Jim Wallis, and consumer advocate Ralph Nader.

Keillor, the Minnesotan radio storyteller, had received peak national exposure, including a *Time* magazine cover story, just before his visit to Goshen on January 14-15, 1986. Speaking at different venues on campus, Keillor seemed less intrigued by his own fame than by what common ground he might discover with a Mennonite college audience. During his main talk, he abandoned the lectern to lead the audience in hymns. At a time when the national ethos murmured to students of engineering degrees or MBAs, the reluctant celebrity Keillor told a group of seniors that his rejection of a strictly vocational path had been rebellious, but, he implied, a noble act. "I majored in English because I didn't think there was any necessity in it at all," Keillor said (*Record*, December 5, 1985 and January 17, 1986).

In a similar vein, Ralph Nader appeared in 1989—the height of professional America’s thralldom to dressing for success—wearing a “rumpled suit, glasses and unfashionable shoes,” to quote a student’s astonished description. Nader spoke before a Church Chapel audience, then repaired to the church fellowship rooms to field questions until past midnight. Staunch defender of automotive safety and the quality of household contraptions, Nader told Goshen listeners on the eve of President Ronald Reagan’s succession by George Bush not to “measure everything in life by . . . mercantile standards. Let’s measure . . . by the intangibles, which are finally what it’s all about” (*Record*, October 6, 1989).

Goshen assets intangible and hard to quantify could blaze very brightly in these times. Trees, shrubs, and flower beds gave increasing beauty to the campus, tended meticulously by physical plant employee Lores Steury. Steury’s work figured into a twenty-year legacy of faithful care directed across campus by physical plant head Kenneth King, who retired in 1986. Campus life also retained light-hearted dimensions. Fans of Maple Leaf basketball in the mid-1980s, for example, witnessed the almost indescribable half-time improvisations of Captain Maple Leaf (student Dave Conrad), in his superhero hosiery, basketball headpiece, and wobbly antennae surely one of the most inspired in a long line of antiheroic Goshen mascots.

One finally notes, in the midst of the middle-decade economic constraints, a convocation offered on the morning of December 5, 1986. It celebrated the ninetieth birthday of scholar and Professor Emeritus Guy F. Hershberger. The presence in the audience of the active, distinguished Hershberger—himself only two years younger than the institution, and a guiding light of its faculty since the harsh Depression years—offered visible witness to the college’s abiding heritage and strength.

From the start of his term, President Stoltzfus had expressed a commitment to greater “inclusiveness” on campus, of students of minority cultures, of women, and of non-Mennonite students. He had even proposed in 1984 that the latter term change to “other than Mennonite” students, to remove its potentially exclusive stigma. For all the travail they caused, the enrollment problems of the mid-1980s presented Goshen College an opportunity. By necessitating a wider recruitment of the “non-traditional” student, enrollment woes indirectly nurtured campus inclusiveness. That mission, of course, was consistent with the college’s commitment to international awareness, to transcultural service, and to broad educational exposure going all the way back to its origin.

But to speak of “non-traditional” students begged the question of which tradition one measures by. The majority of Goshen students continued to claim a Mennonite background, but Mennonite tradition was no longer stationary. However today’s Mennonite culture may be defined, its young people typically arrived oriented to, if not thoroughly at home in, Ameri-

can culture. As hackneyed a point as it may be, one should remember that students arriving after 1985 constituted the first thoroughgoing American video generation. It would be possible in 1994 for some freshman students to have as parents Goshen alumni of the late 1960s—a period identified in its own time as one of significant Mennonite acculturation. In circumstances that would surely seem remarkable to the Indiana-Michigan conference bishops of the 1920s, a Mennonite student today may return home more, not less, “conventionally” Mennonite after exposure to Goshen College ideas.

Late twentieth-century Goshen students, whether “traditional” (Mennonite) or not, could in certain lights appear to be a new breed: detached, ironic, or self-conscious to the point of cynicism. In 1983 student Julia Spicher (Kasdorf) had identified the generational divide this way: “Our generation has cultured a jaded sophistication to meet our experience. . . . Perhaps disillusioned, perhaps confused, perhaps overwhelmed, we tuned out and turned away. We play Pacman. We wear Walkmans. We ‘get out’” (*Record*, February 4, 1983). Yet one is also struck, reviewing a century of Goshen College history, by a powerful continuity informing students’ experience of Goshen College. Certain lessons found ways of transcending whatever configuration the church and American culture might be in at a given moment.⁵ Sensitivity to a timeless tension between Christ and culture, for example, has remained one enduring lesson of the Goshen student’s education. When, around 1985, a student punk rock band sought a name, they ended up calling themselves “Victims of Progress”—an interesting contrast to the straightforwardly optimistic “Spirit of Progress” John S. Coffman had selected for his speech in 1896.

Thoughtful, capable students have carried on exploring perennial Goshen College issues and traditions. Though their vitality may have waxed and waned, certain values endure. One is peace. The late 1970s witnessed low participation in the Peace Society, that creation of decades before with roots in Goshen’s earliest years. But then the Peace Society enjoyed a revival. In the early 1990s, so many of the campus’s most contemporarily sophisticated students flocked to the organization that its leaders changed its name to Students for Shalom to allow an even broader appeal.

Goshen students in the early 1990s repeated the pattern of leaving home, coming to terms with their origins, and setting out from Goshen again, having gained the discernment to continue a life-long education. A 1992 poem by Diana Zimmerman had the familiar ring of a Goshen rite of passage:

Christmas
in the foreign country
of my living room
I smile and try
to remember the language (*Record*, February 21, 1992).

At the same time, Goshen has maintained a special capacity to itself provide a second home. "Of course we are homesick," Chinese scholar Tang Pei-sheng commented a few weeks after his group's arrival, "But we feel quite at home" (*Record*, September 13, 1985). Goshen's international programs and its renewed emphasis on multiculturalism will continue to enhance those opportunities.

Finally, through one hundred years, students, faculty, and administrators have stubbornly, persistently addressed the tension at the heart of an institution devoted to both culture and service. In 1986, two thoughtful students dialogued publicly on points pertinent to all of Goshen's history. "Times have changed" is a truism. . . , "Richard Beyler wrote in a *Record* column, "But do we know why they have changed? Do we want them to change the way they are? Are we just being carried along by the stream, or is there some vision we are still following?" At the first college-sponsored on-campus dance, Beyler noted, billed as a Halloween masquerade, the popularity of costumes resembling Mennonite plain garb "showed I was not the only one aware of the irony in the situation."⁶ One week later, Carl Good wrote about what he reported had been an ongoing private debate, whether true education can combine the secular and religious. "In my positive moments, I believe the tension will work," Good wrote. "I like our diversity. But how do we keep it from destroying us? Will we, too, eventually follow the course of [formerly religious] colleges and give in to secular, generic forces?" Maintaining, not denying, the tension would be the key at Goshen College, Good concluded (*Record*, November 7, 1986 and November 14, 1986).

In the summer of 1992, President Stoltzfus devoted a partial sabbatical leave to pursuing similar questions. A survey Stoltzfus conducted of three church-affiliated colleges resulted in his 1993 book, *Church-Affiliated Higher Education: Exploratory Case Studies of Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Colleges*, which suggested keys to preserving the college-church bond. He concluded his study by praising what he called the "impressive strengths in our [faith and educational] heritage." But, Stoltzfus added,

Christian theology is even more future focused. Faith beckons us forward to shape our campuses in ways that invite students to an oasis in the deserts of massive size, escapist privatism, and spiritual confusion. For such a task we need the combined strengths and close partnership of the major institutions in our society, education and the church.⁷

Several major developments of the early 1990s indicated that Goshen College was indeed moving forward. In October 1992, almost eight decades after President J.E. Hartzler pounded the Science Hall cornerstone into place, the college dedicated a renovated Science Hall and its new wing, the

Schrock Science Annex, possible due to the gift of Harold and Thelma Schrock. The eighty-year-old science building's laboratory, research, and classroom facilities had been expanded in an attractive addition; the dignified older structure had been preserved for ongoing use. With the Science Hall project completed, preparatory work began almost immediately on the site of a new recreation and fitness center, south and east of the College Church Chapel.

Then, in the waning weeks of 1992, Goshen College received news of a major bequest from the Harold C. and Wilma Good Trust, a gift whose worth was estimated at \$28 million.⁸ Harold and Wilma Good of East Lansing, Michigan, had made possible the construction of the 1967 Good Library, and generously supported its operation over the years. Now this Old Goshen alumni couple had provided to Goshen College the largest monetary gift in its ninety-eight year history. Amidst general campus jubilation, the news naturally created for college administrators some "high intensity days," as Victor Stoltzfus described the early part of February 1993, in which the president, the director of the Second Century endowment campaign Ron Gunden, and business manager Mardene Kelley met with representatives of the J.M. Smucker Company and of the Good Trust to work out details surrounding the transfer of the Goods' magnanimous gift—Stoltzfus and Kelley, on one occasion, zooming to a Michigan meeting on the Smucker Company corporate jet (*Record*, February 12, 1993).

With the Good funds available to supplement the new building's operating costs, the administration gave top priority for the remainder of 1993 to the completion of the campus recreation-fitness center, whose preparation was already underway. They scheduled construction to begin April 1. Students, faculty, and community members eagerly followed the progress of a spacious building designed to house three basketball courts and a swimming pool, a running track, four racquetball courts, a glass-walled weight room, three classrooms, and the Goshen College Health Center. On January 8, 1994, the splendidly equipped Recreation-Fitness building opened its doors for two basketball games, a women's game against Taylor University and a men's game against Bluffton College. Surrounded in the new Recreation-Fitness Center by the games' clamor and the general campus excitement, an historically-minded spectator might have half-expected also to glimpse the dignified shades of Joseph W. Yoder, Adeline Brunk, and Boyd D. Smucker—long-ago instructors in the arts of "physical culture"—discreetly inspecting the facilities.

Successful college operation involves a combination of strategy and reflection. No era at Goshen has been exclusively tradition-minded, nor completely future-driven. The large picture of Goshen College history, however, does suggest an alternating pattern, a relay of emphases, between remembering who we are, and designating who we wish to be.

The new mission statement in place by early 1987 contained much of the substance of earlier articulations of Goshen College ideals and mission. The main departure from college habit in the adoption of strategic planning was not in campus ideology, but in method. In 1984 it could seem a departure capable of guiding the institution's work by self-consciously stated, quantified objectives—familiar as those objectives indeed appeared. During certain contrasting periods of its history, Goshen College had gone about the busy round of days and years fulfilling who it already knew itself to be, much like the citizens of mythical Lake Wobegon who, according to Garrison Keillor, proudly claim the serenely self-evident motto, "We are who we are." The institution's received mission, according to this historically-focused vision, in turn informs the college's multitude of individuals and events. The present host of diverse Goshen College experiences makes the past its unifying touchstone. Strategic planning, on the other hand, leans into the future. The seeming novelty of strategic planning, as undertaken in 1984, lay in its invitation to change: we will become our stated ideals.

Inclining toward the future, of course, is not really new at Goshen College. The business-like priority-setting of the 1990s, in fact, calls to mind nothing so much as the institution's first sprint, as a school-in-the-making, out of an old century toward a new. The various founding contributors to Goshen College's identity, John S. Coffman among them, lacking precedents concerned themselves with defining what the school would become, not what received tradition said it must be. Principal Henry A. Mumaw, we might remind ourselves, scrambled week to week in 1894 attempting to fulfill the attractive promises of his Elkhart Institute advertising brochures. Following the college's closure in 1923-1924, S.C. Yoder, Noah Oyer, Harold Bender, and others set about reinterpreting the college to constituents who wished to hear fundamental declarations of present intent rather than talk of old loyalties. Goshen College entered another important period of defining its program, evaluating its effectiveness, and stating its mission following its 1941 accreditation by the North Central Association. In the 1950s and 1960s, galloping increases in enrollment required President Paul Mininger and his administration, for all Mininger's keen personal interest in educational theory, to devote significant energy to long-range planning; we need only look to the eight campus buildings erected during Mininger's tenure for evidence.

By contrast, other periods in Goshen College history seem to have required of their leaders fewer reinterpretations of identity or explicit declarations of intent. Noah Byers, arriving at the Elkhart Institute in 1898, tacitly set about building a Mennonite liberal arts college on the foundation principles of John S. Coffman and the academic models he had observed at Northwestern University, and later at Harvard. In 1913, President J.E. Hartzler presented his phenomenal vision for the institution as

the inevitable fulfillment of an unchanging, established ideal—a vision of the college's identity he shared with many Old Goshen peers. Theologian and philosopher J. Lawrence Burkholder, for all his successful management of college relations and business matters in the 1970s and early 1980s, exhibited perhaps his greatest campus leadership in the realm of ideas—particularly those ideas which encouraged historical connections. Invited to contribute an essay to the May 14, 1993 *Record*, the emeritus president Burkholder reiterated his call for a broad educational perspective, invoking in the process the principle of non-conformity:

I propose a regard for the whole of things and the will to search for meaning beyond one's own immediate impressions and personal feelings. . . . We must have the courage of rational association and creative synthesis. . . . In a post-modern age, to build rational structures by tying together as much of what is good, true and beautiful as possible is to be non-conformed at its deepest level.

That a conversation between institutional being and becoming echoes through one hundred years at a Mennonite liberal arts college is neither surprising nor inappropriate. A tension between the now and the not yet, after all, drives forward the inquiries peculiar to Christian education, and honors "The Spirit of Progress" John S. Coffman described at Goshen College's birth. The same tension, experienced by the individual as an interior dialogue, may be observed in the life of every student who engages in, moves beyond, but remembers and interprets in life a Goshen College course of study. The dialogue continues to sustain the relationship between Goshen College and the Mennonite Church. And it continues to animate Goshen College itself, whose challenging, dynamic motto, "Culture for Service," points it suspensefully, but resolutely, toward a new century.

APPENDIX A

Presidents and Academic Deans, 1894-1994

I. Principals of the Elkhart Institute

Hosmer, Rev. F.A., 1894-95
 Tower, Willis E., 1895-98
 Byers, Noah Ebersole, 1898-1903

II. Presidents of Goshen College

Byers, Noah E., 1903-13
 Hartzler, John E., 1913-18
 Lapp, George J., 1918-19
 Reist, Henry Frank, 1919-20
 Detweiler, Irvin R. (Acting President), 1920-22
 Kauffman, Daniel, 1922-23
 Yoder, Sanford C., 1923-40
 Miller, Ernest E., 1940-54
 Kreider, Carl (Acting President), 1950-51; 1970-71
 Mininger, Paul E., 1954-70
 Burkholder, J. Lawrence, 1971-84
 Stoltzfus, Victor S., 1984-

III. Academic Deans of Goshen College

Smith, C. Henry, 1909-13
 Whitmer, Paul E., 1913-16
 Gerig, Daniel S., 1916-19
 Blosser, Christian B., 1919-21
 Fisher, John J. Sr., 1921-23
 Oyer, Noah, 1924-31
 Bender, Harold S., 1931-44
 Kreider, Carl, 1944-70
 Massanari, Karl (Acting Dean), 1952-55; 1963-64
 Weaver, Henry D., (Acting Dean), 1970-72
 Lapp, John A., 1972-81
 Stoltzfus, Victor S., 1981-84
 Martin, Willard, 1984-88
 Nyce, John D. (Interim Dean), 1988-89; 1994-
 Eby, John W., 1989-94

APPENDIX B

Teaching and Administrative Faculty, 1894-1994

This list attempts to identify the teaching and administrative faculty who have served for two or more years, exclusive of dorm personnel. An asterisk denotes Goshen College alumni. Then follows the highest degree earned during the period of Goshen College employment, the title of the position last held, and total years of service at Goshen College.

Information for the years 1894-1954 relies heavily on a compilation done by John S. Umble appearing in his 1954 history of Goshen College. More detailed information on many of the following names may be found in college catalogs.

Although every effort has been made to ensure accuracy, it is inevitable that the list contains errors. We apologize in advance for any mistakes which may appear in the list below.

- Abebe, Zenebe* Ph.D. *Associate Dean of Students for Multicultural Affairs and Associate Professor of Psychology*. GC, 1978-84; 1992-
- Albrecht, Alfred J.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Communication*. GC, 1964-87
- Alderfer, Diane* *College Nurse*. GC, 1969-71
- Alter, Joseph S. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Sociology*. GC, 1989-91
- Amstutz, Mary L.* M.L.S. *Associate Librarian, Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1979-1988
- Amstutz, H. Clair* M.D. *Professor of Biology and College Physician*. GC, 1934-35; 1939-76
- Anderson, Carolyn M.S. *Instructor of Home Economics*. GC, 1979-82
- Anderson, M. Douglas M.B.A. *Associate Professor of Business*. GC, 1978-82
- Asaoka, Hisa M.Ed. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1977-80
- Aschliman, Kathryn A.* Ph.D. *Professor of Education and Director of Laboratory Kindergarten*. GC, 1962-
- Aubert, Georges *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1974-76
- Augsburger, A. Don Ed.D. *Associate Professor of Christian Education*. GC, 1964-66
- Bachman, Leland* *Controller and Business Manager*. CG, 1947-62
- Bailey, Wilma A. M.Div. *Assistant Professor of Urban and Black Ministries*. GC, 1981-86
- Baker, Edith *Instructor of Violin and Viola*. GC, 1939-41
- Bare, Lois Kieffaber* *Director of Constituency Relations and Director of Alumni Relations*, 1987-
- Barnett, Carl E., Jr. M.A. *Associate Professor of English*. GC, 1988-
- Bartel, Delores A. R.N., B.S.N. *College Nurse*. GC, 1973-
- Bartel, Marvin P. Ed.D. *Professor of Art*. GC, 1970-
- Bauman, Harold E.* Th.M., Ed.D. *Campus Pastor and Associate Professor of Religion*. GC, 1958-74
- Baylor, Rita Atkins M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1992-
- Beachy, John A.* Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1967-70
- Beathe, C. Joann M.S.W. *Assistant Professor of Social Work (Part-time)*. GC, 1983; 1989-91

- Beck, Ervin* Ph.D. *Professor of English*. GC, 1967-
- Bedsworth, Joyce M.A. *Associate Professor in Nursing*. GC, 1976-77; 1979-80
- Beechy, Ailee* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Psychology and Peace Studies*. GC, 1949-83
- Bender, Byron W.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Linguistics and Anthropology*. GC, 1959-62
- Bender, Elizabeth Horsch* M.A. *Assistant Professor Emerita of German*. GC, 1934-63
- Bender, Harold S.* Th.D. *Professor of Bible and Church History; Dean*. GC, 1924-1962
- Bender, Mary E.* Ph.D. *Professor Emerita of French*. GC, 1955-87
- Bender, Paul Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Physics*. GC, 1932-65
- Bergey, John M.A. *Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1983-85
- Berry, Elizabeth A. M.A. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1965-72; 1973-88
- Berry, Lee Roy Jr., Ph.D./J.D. *Associate Professor of Political Science*. GC, 1969-
- Beyler, Willeane* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1965-68
- Birkey, Robert M.* M.S.W. *Associate Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1975-
- Birky, Beth Martin* M.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1993-
- Birky, Jeffry W.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1987-94
- Birky, Melvin G.* *Office Manager*. GC, 1962-66
- Birky, Wilbur J.* Ph.D. *Professor of English*. GC, 1964-
- Bishop, C. Franklin* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Biology*. GC, 1956-85
- Blickenstaff, Marvin M.Mus. *Professor of Music*. GC, 1978-
- Blocki, Kathryn L. M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1992-
- Blocki, Martin B. M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1992-
- Blosser, Christian B* *Professor of Agriculture and Biological Science, Dean*. GC, 1909-1915; 1917-22; 1933-34
- Blosser, Don Ph.D.* *Professor of Bible*. GC, 1979-
- Blough, Frank, *Professor Music and Voice*. GC, 1923-26
- Bomberger, E. Douglas* M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1983-88
- Bontrager, Frances M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1963-69
- Bontrager, Marion* M. Ed.D. *Associate Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1956-1974
- Bontrager, Sylvia *Instructor of Piano*. GC, 1911-14
- Bowman, Anna M.* M.S.W., A.C.S.W. *Associate Professor of Social Work and Director of Women's Studies*. GC, 1978-
- Brenneman, Ruth *Instructor Home Economics*. GC, 1921-23
- Brinklow, Reginald B.S.M. *Music*. GC, 1937-45
- Broadbent, James H. Ph.D. *Director of Technical Education*. GC, 1973-80
- Broadbudd, Darrell L.* M.A., M.Ed. *Director of James Lark Leadership Education Program and Assistant Professor of Bible*. GC, 1979-80
- Brown, Anthony H.* M.S.W. *Associate Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1971-75; 1980-86
- Brubacher, Margaret* R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1954-56
- Brunk, Adeline V. *Instructor in Elocution*. GC, 1900-02
- Brunk, J. Claude *Assistant Instructor Music and Voice*. GC, 1910-12; 1917-20
- Brunk, Janette L.* B.A. *Umbel Center Technical Director and House Manager*. GC, 1992-
- Brunk, John D. *Music Director*. GC, 1906-14; 1925-26
- Brunk, Mabel* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1951-59
- Brunk, Ronald E.* C.P.A., M.B.A. *Office Manager and Professor of Accounting*. GC, 1966-69; 1986-
- Brunner, Fern L.* M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1989-
- Buller, Tracy Marble M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1993-

- Burkhalter, Sheldon W. Th.M., D.Min. *Director of Church Relations*. GC, 1993-
- Burkhart, Irvin E.* Th.M. *Assistant Professor of Bible and Executive Assistant to the President, Emeritus*. GC, 1934-61
- Burkholder, Amos F.* M.M. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1980-86
- Burkholder, Bertha C. MA *Dean of Women and Instructor in French*. GC, 1926-29
- Burkholder, Henry L. *Instructor in Education*. GC, 1935
- Burkholder, J. Lawrence* Th.D. *President Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of Bible and Philosophy*. GC, 1949-61; 1971-84
- Burkholder, J.R.* Ph.D. *Professor of Religion*. GC, 1963-86
- Burkholder, Nancy M.A. *Instructor in English*. GC, 1957-60
- Burkholder, Susan. *Teacher in G.C. Laboratory Kindergarten*. GC, 1975-77
- Burnett, E. Joann M.S., R.D. *Assistant Professor of Foods and Nutrition*. GC, 1987-92
- Buschert, John Ross* Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Physics*. GC, 1990-
- Buschert, Robert C.* Ph.D. *Professor of Physics*. GC, 1948-50, 1965-1994
- Byers, Cecil Floyd. *Instructor in Economics and Commerce*. GC, 1933-38
- Byers, Eva M.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1957-70
- Byers, Noah E., AM *President 1903-13; Professor of Psychology and Education*. GC, 1898-1913
- Byler, Elsie* *Instructor in English*. GC, 1909-11
- Byler, Myrrl M.A. *Director of China Educational Exchange*. CEE, 1990-
- Byrn, Brian D. B.A. *Instructor of Art*. GC, 1992-
- Camp, Ezra John* Ph.D. *Instructor in Mathematics*. GC, 1929-32
- Camp, Richard L.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of History*. GC, 1962-66
- Caskey, Douglas Liechty* *Associate Director of Admissions*. GC, 1983-88
- Cernak, John W. M.F.A. *Assistant Professor of Art*. GC, 1992-
- Charles, Anna Mae* M.S., *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1952-76
- Charles, Howard Hess* Th.M., Ph.D. *Associate Professor of New Testament*. GC, 1947-70
- Christophel, Virginia S. M.S.N. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1981-87
- Clemens, Donald G.* Ph.D. *Professor of Chemistry*. GC, 1967-
- Clemens, James R.* M.S.L.S. *Librarian Emeritus*. GC, 1950-80
- Clemens, Lois Gunden* Ph.D. *Professor of French and Spanish*. GC, 1939-1962
- Clemens, Philip K.* D.Mus. *Professor of Music*. GC, 1965-66, 1970-86
- Coble, Aulden D. L.H.D. *Director, Spanish Language Institute, Costa Rica, and Assistant Professor of Spanish*. GC, 1968-80
- Coffman, Fannie E. *Instructor English and Latin*. GC, 1903-05
- Coffman, John E.* Th.B. *Assistant Librarian and Curator Mennonite Historical Library And Museum*. GC, 1935-42
- Collins, Ronald C. D.Min. *Associate Professor of Hispanic Ministries and Associate Director of Academic Computer Services*. GC, 1981-92
- Conrad, Lloyd V.* *Assistant Registrar*. GC, 1946-54
- Conrad, Susan L.* B.A. *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1993-
- Correll, Ernst H. Ph.D. *Professor of Social Science and German*. GC, 1924-28
- Cressman, J. Boyd* M.A. *Instructor English and Librarian*. GC, 1929-30; 1941-47
- Davidson, William C.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Speech*. GC, 1966-68
- Davis, Ernest P.* *Director Physical Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1936-41
- Davis, Judith M. Ph.D. *Professor of French and Humanities*. GC, 1977-
- Davis, Mabel Webster M.S.W. *Associate Professor of Social Work (Part-time)*. GC, 1983-88

- Detweiler, Irvin Rutt* *Instructor in Bible, Acting President*. GC, 1909-22
- Diller, Stephen J.* *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1975-80
- Dinkeloo, Gerard *Instructor Public School Music Methods*. GC, 1916-23
- Driver, Evelyn J. M.S. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1974-
- Dueck, Jack E. Ph.D. *Associate Professor of English*. GC, 1966-77
- Dunn, Pearl *Instructor In Elementary Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1938-40
- Dyck, Rudolph W. M.B.A. *Assistant Professor of Business*. GC, 1974-78
- Ebersole, Amos S.* *Instructor of Music*. GC, 1913-22
- Ebersole, Elvina (Steiner) *Instructor in Singing*. GC, 1917-23
- Ebersole, Frances *Instructor English Grammar, Elocution*. GC, 1911-14
- Ebersole, Frank S.* *Instructor Commerce, Business Manager*. GC, 1907-12
- Ebersole, J. Frank* Ph.D. *Instructor History, Economics*. GC, 1905-08
- Eby, Esther* M.A. *Teacher in GC Laboratory Kindergarten*. GC, 1959-62
- Eby, Henry Z.* *Chief Accountant*. GC, 1958-62
- Eby, John W. Ph.D. *Dean and Professor of Sociology and Business*. GC, 1989-94
- Edwards, Stephen S.* B.A. *Assistant Director of Admissions*. GC, 1991-
- Enss, Amy *Instructor French, German*. GC, 1929-35
- Enss, Gustav Th.D. *Professor Bible*. GC, 1928-34
- Epp, Edward C. M.S. *Director of Computer Services and Assistant Professor of Computer Science*. GC, 1980-84
- Erb, Alta Mae (Eby)* M.A. *Associate Professor of Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1940-46
- Erb, Paul, MA *Professor of English*. GC, 1939-46
- Falcón, Christine* *Director of Learning Resource Center*. GC, 1980-
- Falcón, Rafael Ph.D. *Professor of Spanish*. GC, 1979-
- Falk, David LL.B. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1965-71
- Fischer, Brenda *Instructor Piano*. GC, 1903-05
- Fisher, John J., Sr.* M.A. *Professor Philosophy of Education; Dean*. GC, 1916-23
- Fisher, John J., Jr.* M.A. *Professor of English*. GC, 1953-1992
- Foreman, Janet R. M.S.B.A. *Assistant Professor of Business*. GC, 1982-86
- Francell, Claire M.S. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1975-83
- Franck, Ira Stoner, MA, *Instructor English*. GC, 1927-29
- Frankenfield, John L.* *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Community Relations*. GC, 1968-74
- Freed, William M.A. *Assistant Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1962-66
- French, Claude *Mechanical Drawing (Part-time)*. GC, 1927-28, 1936-39
- Frey, Amanda* *Dean of Women and Matron*. GC, 1924-26
- Friedmann, Robert Ph.D. *Cataloger, Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1940-42
- Friesen, Lauren D. Ph.D. *Professor of Drama and Director of John S. Umble Center*. GC, 1982-
- Frisbie, William F.* M.A. *Director of Instructional Materials Center*. GC, 1989-
- Fry, Paul W.* M.S. *Instructor in Physical Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1972-84
- Garber, S. David *Associate Professor Bible*. GC, 1965-72
- Gardner, Merrit P. Ph.D. *Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1969-
- Gardner, Ruth Ann *Registrar*. GC, 1977-81, 1985-86
- Gautsche, Julia G.* M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1981-82; 1983-87
- Geiser, Leonard R.* M.B.A. *Professor of Business and Director of the Family Business Program*. GC, 1981-
- Gerig, Daniel S., M.A. *Professor Greek, Latin, German; Dean*. GC, 1900-03; 1905-23; 1929

- Gerig, Richard L.* M.Ed. *Director of Advancement*. GC, 1972-
- Gingerich, Lizzie A. *Instructor Commerce*. GC, 1898-1900
- Gingerich, Melvin* Ph.D. *Professor of History*. GC, 1949-60
- Gingerich, Norman S. *Principal Commerce Department*. GC, 1898-1900
- Gingerich, Paul M. M.Div. *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Church Relations*. GC, 1970-80
- Gingerich, Roman L.* M.A., P.E.D. *Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1941-86
- Gingerich, Solomon F. Ph.D. *Professor of English*. GC, 1905-12
- Glick, Allen R.* *Assistant in International Education*. GC, 1971-75
- Glick, Bruce D.* *Associate in International Education*. GC, 1966-69; 1971-80
- Glick, Byron L.* *Assistant Professor of Computer and Information Science*. GC, 1983-86
- Glick, Ervie L.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of German*. GC, 1967-70, 1983-88
- Glick, Helen Liechty* *Acting Registrar*. GC, 1976-78
- Glick, John W.* M.B.A. *Director of Computing Services*. GC, 1987-
- Glick, Lester* D.S.W. *Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1957-67
- Goldsworthy, James E. M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1980-83
- Good, Delmar G.* Ph.D. *Professor of Economics*. GC, 1967-
- Good, Martha Smith* D.Min. *Campus Minister*. GC, 1988-
- Good, Olivia W. *Instructor Commerce*. GC, 1900-03
- Good, Vera* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1958-62
- Good, Viola M.* M.A. *Assistant Professor Emerita of Communication*. GC, 1939-77
- Gore, Edward M.Ed. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1982-87
- Gotwals, John K.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Physics*. GC, 1970-76
- Graber, Chris L. *Business Manager*. GC, 1924-27; 1933-50
- Graber, Galen L.* *Management Computing Services, Programmer/Analyst*. GC, 1984-
- Graber, Joseph D.* *Assistant Professor of Missions*. GC, 1957-66
- Graber, Marilyn* *Associate Director of Admissions*. GC, 1981-89
- Grill, Frances Weaver M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1989-
- Groff, David M.* *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1978-82
- Gross, Ida A.* M.N. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1969-76; 1980-88
- Gross, Kevin J.* *Academic Microcomputer Analyst/Programmer*. GC, 1984-
- Grove, Stanley N.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Biology*. GC, 1975-
- Gunden, Elizabeth A.* B.S.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1978-82
- Gunden, Linda Garber* B.A. *Assistant Director, Organizational Management Program*. GC, 1992-
- Gunden, Ralph* *Business Manager*. GC, 1949-70
- Gunden, Randall G.* M.A. *Associate Professor of Business and Economics*. GC, 1984-
- Gunden, Ronald D.* M.S.W. *Director, The Uncommon Cause; Director, Century Two*. GC, 1981-
- Gunden, Ruth E.* Ph.D. *Director of International Education and Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1953-1994
- Gunden, Theresa C.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1985-90
- Gundy, Carolyn S. M.B.A. *Assistant Professor of Business and Director of Management Development Program*. GC, 1990-
- Guth, Eunice, *Assistant Instructor Piano, Music*. GC, 1918-21
- Guth, Robert* Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Biology*. GC, 1985-88
- Haney, Sally Neild M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1956-66
- Harley, Paul David* M.S.W., A.C.S.W. *Associate Professor of Social Work, Director of Social Work*. GC, 1976-80

- Harmon, John E. C.P.A. *Assistant Professor of Accounting*. GC, 1985-90
- Hartzler, B. Frank* *Instructor in Music and Voice*. GC, 1926-30; 1936-39; 1940-45; 1948-49
- Hartzler, Dwain J.* M.A. *Associate Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1972-
- Hartzler, H. Harold Ph.D. *Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1937-60
- Hartzler, John E. Ph.D. *Professor of Bible; President*. GC, 1910-18
- Hartzler, John M. *Instructor Rhetoric*. GC, 1902
- Hartzler, Jonas S. *Business Manager; Instructor in Bible and Education*. GC, 1903-18
- Hartzler, Levi* M.A. *Assistant Professor of English; Dean of Men*. GC, 1940-49
- Hartzler, Sarah Kreider Ph.D. *Associate Professor of English*. GC, 1969-82
- Haven, Robert Rand *Instructor in Art and Mechanical Drawing*. GC, 1903-05
- Helmuth, Mervin R.* M.N. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1970-
- Helrich, Carl S. Jr., Ph.D. *Professor of Physics*. GC, 1985-
- Hendress, Nancy. B.A. *Instructor in Interior Design*. GC, 1988-90
- Herr, Ed* *Instructor in Physical Education*. GC, 1959-62
- Herr, Edith L. M.A. *Assistant Professor Emerita of Physical Education*. GC, 1946-64
- Herr, Edward L.* M.S. *Acting Director of Admissions and Director of Orientation and Testing*. GC, 1957, 1959-61, 1969-76
- Hershberger, Abner* M.F.A. *Professor of Art*. GC, 1965-
- Hershberger, Anne Krabill* M.S.N. *Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1962-64; 1965-69; 1971-
- Hershberger, Ezra S.* M.A. *Associate Professor Emeritas of Art*. GC, 1955-70
- Hershberger, Guy F. Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of History*. GC, 1925-66
- Hershberger, Irene* *Instructor in Commerce*. GC, 1947-48; 1950-66
- Hershberger, Joan Kennel* B.S.N. *College Nurse*. GC, 1971-74
- Hershberger, Lotus D.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1965-68
- Hertzler, Alta G.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Art*. GC, 1969-84
- Hertzler, Carolyn (Weaver)* *Instructor of Piano (Part-time)*. GC, 1947-49; 1953-54
- Hertzler, Diane Schrock M.S. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1989-
- Hertzler, James R.* Ph.D. *Professor of History*. GC, 1966-
- Hertzler, Ruth* *Instructor in Commerce*. GC, 1935-36
- Hertzler, Silas* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Education and Psychology*. GC, 1920-58
- Hess, J. Daniel Ph.D. *Professor of Communication and English*. GC, 1964-
- Hesser, Ernest G. *Instructor of Public School Music*. GC, 1910-12
- Hillerbrand, Hans Ph.D. *Instructor in History*. GC, 1957-60
- Histand, James L.* M.B.A., C.P.A. *Assistant Professor of Accounting*. GC, 1990-
- Hochstetler, Mary Ellen* *College Nurse*. GC, 1963-68
- Hoffman, DeVon* M.S. *Assistant Athletic Director and Baseball Coach (part time)*. GC, 1987-
- Hoffman, Wanda R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1971-73
- Hohn, Reynold Barrett, M.A. *Professor of Education*. GC, 1925-27
- Holtkamp, Otto H. *Instructor of Piano and Music Theory*. GC, 1917-23
- Hooley, Mary * *Preceptress and Instructor in English*. GC, 1915-16; 1939-41
- Hooley, Mary Louise* M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1986-88
- Hooley, William D.* M.Ed. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1966-70
- Hoover, Martin. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Physics*. GC, 1961-66
- Horst, Kenneth E.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Chemistry*. GC, 1987-89
- Horst, Laura Lerch* *Graphic Designer, Information Services*. GC, 1988-94
- Horst, Randall P.* M.F.A. *Assistant Professor of Communication*. GC, 1988-92
- Horst, Rebecca Bontrager* M.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1991-

- Hostetler, C.K. *Business Manager*. GC, 1903-08
- Hostetler, Carl M.* M.D. *College Physician*. GC, 1945-48
- Hostetler, Debra J.* *Editor, Information Services*. GC, 1979-82
- Hostetler, RaCinda,* B.A., A.T.C. *Certified Athletic Trainer* (part time). 1991-
- Hostetler, Retha* *Assistant Registrar and Instructor in Commerce* (Part-time). GC, 1937-41
- Hostetler, Robert* *Instructor in Piano* (Part-time). GC, 1945-52
- Hostetter, John J. Jr. M.B.A., C.P.A. *Associate Professor of Accounting*. GC, 1962-80
- Hostetter, Karl M.S.W. *Assistant Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1969-71
- Hostetter, Robert M.S.R. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1978-80
- Hostetter, Thelma M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1969-71
- Hunsberger, Amy* *Assistant Dean of Women*. GC, 1959-66
- Hunsberger, Arlin K. *Director of International Education*. GC, 1968-90
- Hurst, Carolyn Y.* *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1972-74
- Ingold, John D.* Ph.D. *Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1964-
- Isaak, Albert M.S. *Assistant Professor of Biology*. GC, 1964-66
- Ivory, Goldie L. M.S.W., A.C.S.W. *Associate Professor Emerita of Social Work*. GC, 1973-91
- Jacobs, Merle E.* Ph.D. *Research Professor Emeritus of Zoology*. GC, 1953-54; 1964-85
- Jacobs, Wellington K. M.D., D.O. *Instructor in Music and Commerce*. GC, 1903-07
- Jeschke, Marlin L. Ph.D. *Professor of Philosophy and Religion*. GC, 1961-1994
- Johnson, Elizabeth A.* M.S. *Assistant Director of Information Services*. GC, 1981-84
- Johnson, Marilyn D. M.S. *Assistant Professor of Home Economics*. GC, 1981-84
- Johnson, Robert* M.F.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1980-82
- Johnson, Ronald A. M.A. *Assistant Professor of Communication and General Manager WGCs-FM*. GC, 1988-91
- Jones, Marian (Kauffman)* R.N. *College Nurse*. GC, 1939-41
- Kanagy, Minnie* *Instructor in Home Economics*. GC, 1924-25
- Kauffman, Anna H.* M.A. *Instructor in English, Grammar and Geography*. GC, 1908-10
- Kauffman, Daniel *Instructor in Short Bible Term*, 1899-1902; *President*, 1922-23
- Kauffman, Daniel E. M.A. *Director Emeritus of College Relations*. GC, 1971-86
- Kauffman, Dennis Stuckey* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Physics*. GC, 1968-70; 1974-82
- Kauffman, J. Frederick* *Instructor in Spanish*. GC, 1971-76
- Kauffman, J. Howard* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Sociology*. GC, 1948-84
- Kauffman, Kathy, M.L.S. *Associate Librarian*. GC, 1982-
- Kauffman, Ruby* *College Dietitian*. GC, 1957-60
- Kauffman, Stella* *Librarian*. GC, 1938-42
- Kauffman, Verda (Lambright)* *Instructor in Home Economics* (Part-time). GC, 1947-48
- Kauffmann, Duane R.* Ph.D. *Professor of Psychology*. GC, 1967-
- Kauffmann, Norman L. Ed.D. *Dean of Students and Associate Professor of Psychology*. GC, 1969-
- Keller, Isaac Clayton *Professor of English and Public Speaking*. GC, 1917-20
- Kelley, Mardene H.* M.S.B.A. *Business Manager*. GC, 1981-
- Kelley, Mark M.S. *Assistant Professor of Communication*. GC, 1983-86
- Kelly, W.R. M.D. *Instructor in Health and Hygiene* (Part-time). GC, 1935-36
- Kelsey, Cary D. M.A. *Assistant Professor of Social Work* (Part-time). GC, 1990-
- King, Delmar* M.B.A. *Assistant Professor of Business*. GC, 1972-80

- King, Kenneth E. A.A. *Director Emeritus of Physical Plant*. GC, 1966-85
- King, Samuel M. M.A. *Instructor in Education and Psychology* (Part-time). GC, 1928; 1936; 1953-66
- King, Viola Zehr* M.A. *Dean of Women*. GC, 1966-70
- Klassen, John Paul M.F.A. *Instructor in Art*. GC, 1974-77
- Klingelsmith, Joyce Beck* *Instructor in Physical Education*. GC, 1972-74
- Klingelsmith, Sharon* M.L.S. *Assistant Librarian, Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1972-79
- Klippenstein, Lawrence* *Instructor in Bible*. GC, 1962-66
- Klopfenstein, Mary Pearl M.A. *Instructor in English and Speech*. GC, 1925-27; 1932-36
- Knopf, Frank E. *Instructor in English, Literature and Foreign Languages*. GC, 1895-97
- Koehn, Anne Birky* M.Ed. *Acting Director of Residence Life*. GC, 1979-84
- Koehn, Dennis R. M.Div. *Director of Admissions*. GC, 1981-84
- Kolb, Abram B. *Instructor in Music*. GC, 1895-1903
- Kolb, Myrtle* *Dietitian*. GC, 1939-42
- Koontz, Theodore J. M.A. *Assistant Professor of Political Science*. GC, 1981-84
- Koop, Victor R. Ph.D. *Professor of Psychology*. GC, 1982-
- Koop, W. La Marr* M.A. *Assistant Professor of German*. GC, 1957-62
- Krabill, Willard S.* M.D., M.P.H. *College Physician Emeritus and Associate Professor Emeritus of Health Education*. GC, 1967-91
- Krall, Ruth E.* Ph.D. *Professor of Religion, Nursing and Psychology and Director of Peace Studies*. GC, 1965-68; 1976-81; 1984-
- Kraus, C. Norman* Th.M. Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Religion*. GC, 1951-79
- Kreider, Alan F.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of History*. GC, 1969-80
- Kreider, Amos E.* *Business Manager and Assistant Professor of Old Testament*. GC, 1917-23
- Kreider, Carl* Ph.D. *Professor of Economics and Dean; Acting President*. GC, 1940-79
- Kreider, Eleanor G. Nase* M.Mus. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1961-71
- Kreider, J. Robert.* *Business Manager Emeritus*. GC, 1956-85
- Kreider, Noble. *Instructor in Piano* (Part-time). GC, 1927-53
- Kulp, Nancy B.* *Instructor in Commerce*. GC, 1904-11
- Kurowski, Lois Landis M.B.A. *Assistant Director of Information Services*. GC, 1985-90
- Kurtz, Jonathan M. A.M. *Professor Physics and Chemistry*. GC, 1903-04; 1906-23
- Kurtz, Karen* M.A. *Director of Sponsored Programs*, 1987-
- Laarman, Edward J. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Religion*. GC, 1982-84
- Landis, Alice Maud *Instructor in Music*. GC, 1902-04
- Lapp, Anita Stalter M.Ed. *Associate Professor of Education*. GC, 1987-
- Lapp, George J.* *President; Professor in Old Testament and Director of Bible Correspondence*. GC, 1918-19; 1946-51
- Lapp, James M. D.Min. *Director of Campus Ministries*. GC, 1981-88
- Lapp, John A. Ph.D. *Provost and Professor of History*. GC, 1972-86
- Lapp, Nancy S., *Campus Minister*. GC, 1981-88
- Leaman, Bertha* *Assistant to the Registrar and Instructor in History*. GC, 1921-23
- Leatherman, Daniel* M.A. *Associate Professor of Political Science*. GC, 1962-70
- Lee, Nancy V. *Adjunct Assistant Professor of English: China Educational Exchange*. GC, 1957-59
- Lee, Suelyn* *Information Services Artist*. GC, 1984-88
- Lehman, Carol* *Associate Director of Student Financial Aid*. GC, 1982-
- Lehman, Daniel A. M.A. *Professor Emeritus of Mathematics and Astronomy* 1906-42

- Lehman, Elizabeth A.* *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1968-70
- Lehman, John E.* *Assistant to the President*. GC, 1956-60
- Lehman, Karl* M.B.A. *Associate Professor of Business*. GC, 1976-82
- Lehman, Martha, M.P.A. *Director of Admissions*, 1987-
- Lehman, Martin Clifford* Ph.D. *Instructor in Education and Philosophy*. GC, 1935-38
- Leichty, Marilyn Graber* M.A. *Associate Professor of Nursing* GC, 1974-80
- Lenhart, Lena *Instructor in French*. GC, 1900-03
- Lenhert, Esther M. M.P.H. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1971-76
- Lhamon, Thomas P. *Instructor in Commerce*, GC, 1894-97
- Liechty, Dan A.* *Assistant Director of Admissions*, 1989-1993
- Liechty, Jill Ann. *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1975-78
- Liechty, John H.* *Associate Director of College Relations*. GC, 1964-72
- Liechty, Mary* *Associate Director of International Education*. GC, 1977-85
- Liechty, Russel A.* Ph.D. *Dean of Students Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of Education*. GC, 1953-56; 1959-1993
- Lindsay, Nicholas C. *Assistant Professor of English and Poet in Residence (Part-time)*. GC, 1969-
- Linton, Mary C. M.S. *Assistant Professor of Biology*. GC, 1989-
- Litwiller, Fred* M.A. *Director of Orientation and Career Services*. GC, 1966-73; 1977-
- Logan, James Samuel* M.A. *Resident Director and Faculty Advisor, Black Student Union*. GC, 1988-1993
- Lorenz, Betty J.* M.S., C.N.A. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1969; 1971-74; 1980-86
- Luckenbill, Janice* R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1960-62
- MacDonald, Diane L. M.Div. *Assistant Professor of Religion*. GC, 1977-80
- MacDonald, Dennis Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Bible*. GC, 1977-80
- Malloch, Alta Maud M.A. *Professor Latin and French*. GC, 1924-26
- Mann, Larry* *Coordinator of Student Activities and Recreation*. GC, 1969-72
- Marquis, Thomas E.* *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Community Relations*. GC, 1973-78
- Marroquín, Fernando M.A. *Assistant Professor of Spanish*. GC, 1993-
- Martens, Jo-Ann A. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Bible, Religion and Philosophy*. 1993-
- Martin, Ann *Assistant Director of Information Services*. GC, 1983-86
- Martin, Cheryl M.* M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1976-77, 1985-88
- Martin, Edward F. *Business Manager*. GC, 1927-32
- Martin, Janice* *Director of News Services*. GC, 1976-80
- Martin, Martha L.* *Instructor in Education*. GC, 1919-21
- Martin, Miriam E. Ph.D. *Director of Nursing and Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1990-
- Martin, Tori L. *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1981-84
- Martin, Willard Ph.D. *Professor of German; Dean*. GC, 1984-
- Massanari, Karl L.* Ed.D. *Professor Emeritus of Education; Acting Dean*. GC, 1948-66
- McCammon, Don E.* *Manager of Bookstore and Post Office*. GC, 1966-86
- McCoy, Opal *Instructor in Music*. GC, 1916-18
- McFarland, Mabelle *Instructor in Commerce*. GC, 1935-38
- McGrath, William* *Instructor in Bible*. GC, 1955-56
- McIntyre, Reid. *Instructor of Art*. GC, 1974-77
- McMullen, Conley K. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Biology*. GC, 1987-90
- Mellinger, Sherry L.* M.N. *Assistant Director, B.S.N. Completion Program and Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1993-

- Mendenhall, Maude (Weaver)* *Instructor in Elementary Education*. GC, 1938-39
- Mertz, Lydia K. *Campus Physician*. GC, 1991-94
- Meyer, Albert J.* Ph.D. *Adjunct Research Professor of Physics*. GC, 1958-61, 1967-
- Meyer, Margaret* M.A. *Assistant Professor English*. GC, 1954-58
- Meyers, Thomas J.* Ph.D. *Professor of Sociology*. GC, 1983-
- Micks, Judson A. *Instructor in Voice Culture*. GC, 1908-10
- Miller, Ann Graber* *Assistant Professor of Art and Graphic Designer, Information Services*. GC, 1986-89
- Miller, Bradley A.* *Associate in College Relations*. GC, 1986-88
- Miller, Caleb D. Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Bible, Religion and Philosophy*. GC, 1987-93
- Miller, David J. Ph.D. *Program Director, Merry Lea*. GC, 1988-
- Miller, DeLane* C.P.A. *Controller*, GC, 1987-
- Miller, Ernest E.* Ph.D. *President; Associate Professor of Education*. GC, 1939-1954
- Miller, Fyrne Anna* *Instructor in Home Economics*. GC, 1930-33
- Miller, Ginger L.* *Instructor in English and College Advocate*. GC, 1986-
- Miller, Glen R. Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Chemistry*. GC, 1923-67
- Miller, Helen Stob. M. Mus. *Instructor in Piano (Part-time)*. GC, 1958-66
- Miller, James A.* A.Mus.D. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1958-65
- Miller, James S. Ph.D. *Professor of Biology*. GC, 1980-
- Miller, John Wolf* M.A., Th.D. *Instructor in Old Testament*. GC, 1953-60
- Miller, Katherine Elizabeth* *Elementary Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1936-37
- Miller, Keith A. Graber Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Bible, Religion and Philosophy*. 1987-89; 1993-
- Miller, Lyle G.* *Assistant Director of Information Services*. GC, 1989-
- Miller, Orie O.* *Instructor in Commerce*. GC, 1912-15
- Miller, Paul M.* Th.M. *Professor of Practical Theology*. GC, 1952-70
- Miller, Perry J. M.A. *Assistant Professor Emeritus of Education*. GC, 1948-50; 1955-71
- Miller, Richard O.* M.S.T. *Associate in College Relations*. GC, 1990-
- Miller, Stanley W.* M.S.A. *Registrar*. GC, 1981-
- Miller, Susan Fisher* M.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1985-86
- Miller, Trish* M.A. *Director of Student Activities*. GC, 1988-
- Miller, William F.* Ed.S. *Associate Director of Admissions/International; Associate Professor of Physical Science*. GC, 1963-
- Milne, Ronald J.* Ph.D. *Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1976-
- Milne, Sally Jo* M.L.S. *Associate Librarian*. GC, 1984-
- Mininger, Paul E. M.R.E., Ph.D. *President Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of Christian Education*. GC, 1937-76
- Minnich, R. Herbert, Jr. Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Sociology*. GC, 1966-72
- Minter, William F., M.S.F. *Director of Land Management, Merry Lea*. GC, 1991-
- Miranda, C. Lourdes Th.M. *Assistant Professor of Bible and Director of Cross-Cultural Relations Center*. GC, 1979-82
- Mishler, John* M.F.A. *Associate Professor of Art*. GC, 1985-
- Montgomery, Kay* M.A. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1976-1993
- Mosemann, John H. Th.M. *Assistant Professor Practical Theology; Pastor College Congregation*, 1946-76
- Mosemann, Orpah B. M.Ed. *Associate Professor Emerita of Nursing*. GC, 1950-71
- Moser, Caroline* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Commerce*. GC, 1958-64
- Mosley, David L. Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Music and Humanities*. GC, 1986-
- Moyer, J. Harold M.A. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1957-60

- Mullet, Robert* *Controller*. GC, 1969-72
- Mumaw, Catherine R. Ph.D. *Professor of Home Economics*. GC, 1974-88
- Munsell, Leila G. *Instructor in Music*. GC, 1900-02
- Nafziger, J. Marvin* M.R.E. *Assistant Professor of Bible*. GC, 1958-62
- Nafziger, Laurie Neumann* M.S.W. *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Alumni Relations*. GC, 1985-88
- Nafziger, Mary K.* Ph.D. *Professor Emerita of Education*. GC, 1950-87
- Neufeld, Jyl R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1978-79; 1980-81
- Nitzsche, Mae* *Assistant Dean of Women*. GC, 1955-58
- Noffsinger, Donna M. M.L.S. *Reference Librarian*. GC, 1987-89
- Nofziger, Daryl J.* *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Alumni Relations*. GC, 1974-78
- Nofziger, Lois H.* *College Nurse*. GC, 1957-60
- Nofziger, Mary Alice* R.N., M.Ed. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1957-62
- Norman, Bettie M.* M.Mus. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1962-78
- Nussbaum, Nancy Ryan* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Education (Part-time)*. GC, 1983-84, 1988-93
- Nyce, Dorothy Yoder* M.Div. *Associate Professor of Bible (Part-time)*. GC, 1981-
- Nyce, John D.* M.A.T.M. *Associate Dean; Director of Collegiate Studies and Assistant Professor of Mathematics*. GC, 1966-
- Nyce, Susan J.* *Teacher in GC Laboratory Kindergarten*. GC, 1982-84
- O'Brien, John T. M.M. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1966-68; 1970-78
- Ogle, Donald R. M.Ed., A.T.C. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education and Certified Athletic Trainer*. GC, 1985-
- Oklak, Mark A. M.B.A., C.D.P. *Associate Professor of Computer Science*. GC, 1987-
- Ortiz, Jose M.* D.Min. *Associate Professor of Hispanic Ministries and Director of Hispanic Ministries Department*. GC, 1983-93
- Overfelt, Lou Ann R.N. *College Nurse*. GC, 1967-70
- Oyer, John S.* Ph.D. *Professor of History*. GC, 1955-1993
- Oyer, Mary K.* A.Mus.D. *Professor Emerita of Music*. GC, 1945-87
- Oyer, Noah Th.B. *Dean; Professor of Bible*. GC, 1924-31
- Paris, Carol Ann M.S.I.S. *Associate Professor of Computer Science*. GC, 1984-88
- Park, Maxwell G. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1922-23
- Peachey, Chester R.* M.S. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1969-86
- Penner, Sharon Friesen M.S. *Assistant Professor of Home Economics*. GC, 1984-88
- Pepple, George *Business Law (Part-time)*. GC, 1940-41; 1946-47
- Peterson, Martha. M.S., M.L.S. *Assistant Librarian*. GC, 1989-
- Pfrunder, Ruth* *Instructor in French (Part-time)*. GC, 1955-57
- Pletcher, Kenneth J.* M.A. *Instructor in Physical Education*. GC, 1972-75; 1976-79
- Ponzo, Kathryn M. B.S.N. *Director of Continuing Education in Nursing and Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1974-84
- Preheim, Doyle C. D.M.A. *Professor of Music*. GC, 1972-
- Preheim, Marles D.M.A. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1975-78
- Raber, Chester Alden* Th.M. *Religious Counselor and Instructor in Psychology*. GC, 1954-57
- Rakowski, Catherine A. Bauer, Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Chemistry*. GC, 1990-
- Ramer, Durrell Brennenman* *Technical Director, John S. Umble Center*. GC, 1987-1992
- Reagan, Gene M.A. *Assistant Professor in Physical Education*. GC, 1979-82
- Redekop, Calvin W.* Ph.D. *Professor of Sociology*. GC, 1962; 1967-80

- Reimer, Gerhard J.* Ph.D. *Professor of German*. GC, 1966-1994
- Reimer, Kathryn Meyer* Ph.D. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1990-
- Reimer, Paul Meyer* Ph.D. *Adjunct Assistant Professor of Physics*. GC, 1993-
- Reist, Henry Frank* *President*. GC, 1918-20
- Rich, Olive* M.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1953-60
- Richer, Linda S.* A.M.L.S. *Associate Librarian*. GC, 1980-84
- Rodríguez, José Eliú M.Div. *Assistant Professor Of Hispanic Ministries and Director of Hispanic Ministries Department*. GC, 1993-
- Roose, Phyllis* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Home Economics*. GC, 1947-72
- Roth, Alice* M.A. *Executive Vice President*. GC, 1976-81; 1983-89
- Roth, John D.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of History and Religion; Director of Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1985-
- Roth, Jonathan N.* Ph.D. *Professor of Biology*. GC, 1962-
- Roth, Sue Ann* M.A. *Associate Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1976-
- Roth, Veronica* *Instructor in Music*. GC, 1965-78
- Royer, Isaiah W. *Instructor in Bible*. GC, 1905-09
- Royer, Mary Neuhauser* Ph.D. *Dean of Women; Professor Emerita of Education*. GC, 1933-80
- Rupp, Bernice J.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1956-64
- Rupp, Larry* M.S.W. *Associate Dean of Students and Director of Residence Life*. GC, 1977-
- Rush, Philip H.* *Associate Director of Student Financial Aid and Associate Director of Management Computer Services*. GC, 1986-91, 1993-94
- Sala, Raymond M. *Associate Director of College Relations, Director of Church Relations*. GC, 1961-72
- Saner, Floyd E. M.S. *Associate Professor of Computer Science*. GC, 1984-
- Santiago, Juanita* B.A. *Assistant Director of Admissions*. GC, 1992-
- Schertz, Vernon E.* M.A. *Director of Learning Resources Center, General Manager of WGCS and Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1962-84
- Schipani, Daniel Ph.D. *Professor of Hispanic Ministries*. GC, 1986-
- Schlabach, Jay* M.D. *College Physician*. GC, 1983-1985
- Schlabach, Theron F.* Ph.D. *Professor of History*. GC, 1965-
- Schmucker, Walter W.* *Director of Student Financial Aid*. GC, 1965-
- Schrag, Martin H. *Assistant Professor of Bible*. GC, 1956-57
- Schrock, Alta E. Ph.D. *Professor of Biology*. GC, 1946-62
- Schrock, Dan* M.S.W. *Coordinator of Counseling Services*. GC, 1967-69
- Schultz, Harold J.* M.A. *Instructor in History*. GC, 1954-56
- Sears, Janis* R.N. *Instructor of Nursing*. GC, 1993-
- Shank, David A.* M.Div. *Campus Minister*. GC, 1973-75
- Shantz, Edna P.* M.A. *Associate Professor Emerita of Home Economics*. GC, 1950-83
- Shaum, Ada C.* *Assistant Registrar*. GC, 1954-60
- Shellenberger, Janet* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1969-71; 1974-87; 1993-
- Shenk, Byron* B.A. *Instructor of Physical Education*. GC, 1962-64
- Shenk, J.B.* Th.B. *Administrator Emeritus*. GC, 1952-53; 1957-1992
- Shenk, Lydia Frances, MA *Instructor French*. GC, 1930-40; 1943-44
- Shenk, Stanley C.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Bible*. GC, 1965-85
- Sherer, Kathryn* M.M. *Associate Professor of Music*. GC, 1965-
- Sherer, Lon H. A.Mus.D. *Professor of Music*. GC, 1959-

- Sherman, Dana G. *Controller*. GC, 1971-85
- Shetler, Ann C. M.A., R.D. *Assistant Professor of Foods and Nutrition and Director of Didactic Program in Dietetics*. GC, 1990-
- Shetler, Clayton E.* *Director of Physical Plant*. GC, 1989-
- Shetler, Linda M.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1979-80; 1981-
- Shetler, Samuel G. *Instructor Special Bible Term*. GC, 1898-1903
- Shoemaker, Mildred R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1950-52
- Short, Kathleen Gnagey* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Education*. GC, 1979-90
- Short, Rebekeh C.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Art*. GC, 1992-
- Showalter, Elizabeth *Instructor in English*. GC, 1961-66
- Showalter, Marguerite *Instructor Physical Culture*. GC, 1909-11
- Showalter, Shirley W. Ph.D. *Professor of English*. GC, 1976-
- Showalter, Stuart W. Ph.D. *Professor of Communication*. GC, 1976-
- Shrode, Helen H. M.S.N.Ed. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1973-78; 1980-88
- Slabaugh, John F.* *Professor of Art*. GC, 1924-27
- Slate, Ina K* *Instructor Public School of Art*. GC, 1916-23
- Smith, C. Henry Ph.D. *Dean; Professor of History and Social Science*. GC, 1906-13
- Smith, J. Harold* M.A. *Associate Professor of English*. GC, 1949-54
- Smith, J. Harold* M.A. *Associate Professor of English*. GC, 1949-55
- Smith, John Jay* Ph.D. *Professor of Education and Director of Teacher Education*. GC, 1974-
- Smith, Verna Graber* M.A. *Assistant Professor Emerita of Spanish*. GC, 1930-70
- Smith, Willard H.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of History*. GC, 1929-72
- Smoker, Arthur E. Jr.* *Campus Minister and Director of Life Program and Director of Center for Discipleship*. GC, 1974-78
- Smucker, Arthur A.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Chemistry*. GC, 1953-87
- Smucker, Barbara E. M.A. *Associate Librarian, Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1982-
- Smucker, Boyd D. M.O. *Director of School of Oratory*. GC, 1907-13
- Smucker, George A.* Ph.D. *Associate Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1967-69; 1972-76
- Smucker, Russell A.* M.A. *Instructor in Mathematics*. GC, 1967-70
- Snapp, Dorothy* *Commerce (Part-time)*. GC, 1944-46
- Snyder, Donald *Assistant Business Manager*. GC, 1957-60
- Snyder, James C. M.S. *Assistant Professor of Economics*. GC, 1954-62
- Sommers, Elaine* *Instructor in English*. GC, 1947-53
- Soto, Elizabeth M.A. *Assistant Professor of Hispanic Ministries*. GC, 1987-90
- Sowers, Bonnie Kauffman* *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1972-76
- Speckeen, Fred* *Instructor in Speech*. GC, 1955-57
- Springer, Joseph A.* M.A., M.L.S. *Curator of the Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1986-
- Springer, Nelson* M.S. *Curator Emeritus of the Mennonite Historical Library*. GC, 1941-85
- Sprunger, Arthur Lehman* M.A. *Instructor in Art*. GC, 1928-54
- Srof, Brenda S.* M.S.N. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1988-
- Stalter, Miriam* *Instructor in Education*. GC, 1945-48
- Stalter, Timothy J.* M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music*. GC, 1988-92
- Stamm, Gwen M. *Information Services Artist*. GC, 1979-84
- Stauffer, Loren *Director of Staff Personnel; Bookstore Manager*. GC, 1966-
- Stauffer, Ruth Gehman* *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1970-72

- Steffen, Arlene* M.M. *Assistant Professor of Music and Director of Piano Preparatory Department.* GC, 1989-
- Steffen, Wayne *Assistant Director of Information Services.* GC, 1990-
- Steiner, Elvina *Instructor in Singing.* GC, 1917-23
- Stoltzfus, Edward B.* Th.M. *Coordinator of Church and Seminary Relations.* GC, 1964-69
- Stoltzfus, Elvin R. M.Div., *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Church Relations.* GC, 1979-86
- Stoltzfus, Gladys* *Instructor in English.* GC, 1949-50, 1955-57
- Stoltzfus, Victor E.* Ph.D. *President; Dean; Professor of Sociology.* GC, 1981-
- Stoltzfus, Mahlon* *Manager of College Book Store.* GC, 1961-68
- Stone, Rosa B.* Ed.D. *Assistant Professor of Home Economics and Psychology.* GC, 1969-80
- Strayer, Kerry L. M.A. *Assistant Professor of Communication.* GC, 1990-92
- Stuckey, Phyllis Ewert M.S. *Director of Computer Services.* GC, 1976-82
- Stucky, Kent D.* J.D. *Director of Development.* GC, 1992-
- Stutzman, Jesse* *Professor of Agriculture.* GC, 1915-17
- Stutzman, Ronald L. Ph.D. *Professor of Anthropology.* GC, 1980-
- Stutzman, Terry B. *Assistant Director of Information Services.* GC, 1982-85
- Sudermann, Jacob* M.A. *Associate Professor German.* GC, 1939-48
- Summerville, William M.Mus. *Assistant Professor of Music.* GC, 1966-70
- Swanson, Jon C. Ph.D. *Associate Professor, Director of Degree Completion Programs.* GC, 1992-
- Swartley, Sharon K.* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education.* GC, 1989-
- Swartzendruber, Dale* M.S. *Instructor in Agriculture.* GC, 1953-55
- Swartzendruber, Jacob F. Ed.S. *Associate Professor Emeritus of Education.* GC, 1952-75
- Templin, June. *Associate Director of Computer Services.* GC, 1984-
- Thut, Benjamin Frank M.D. *Instructor in Astronomy, Biology, Physical Science.* GC, 1904-06
- Thut, John B.* *Instructor Music.* GC, 1921-23
- Tieszen, Dirk Vivian M.S. *Instructor Physical Science.* GC, 1928-30
- Tower, Willis E. *Instructor Natural Science.* GC, 1928-30
- Troyer, D.J. *Instructor Science, Education.* GC, 1897-98
- Umble, John S.* M.A. *Professor Emeritus of English and Speech.* GC, 1924-54
- Umble, Roy H.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Communication.* GC, 1946-83
- Van Pelt, Forest E. *Agriculture (Part-time).* GC, 1941-45
- Virrill, Corinne D. B.S. *Director of Aquatics and Instructor of Swimming.* GC, 1994-
- Vogt, Virgil. *Editor of Alumni Newsletter.* GC, 1956-60
- Wade, Ralph* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Music.* GC, 1955-62
- Walker, Ian* B.A. *Program Coordinator, Multicultural Affairs and Faculty Adviser, International Students, Black Student Union.* GC, 1993-
- Walter, Ort L. M.A. *Education (Part-time).* GC, 1929-30; 1935-36
- Warkentin, Lora* M.S.N. *Associate Professor of Nursing.* GC, 1985-89
- Warye, Alma R.* *Instructor in English.* GC, 1920-23
- Weaver, Abraham E. M.A. *Professor of Education.* GC, 1924-26
- Weaver, Arthur* *Commerce (Part-time).* GC, 1947-49
- Weaver, Beth* *Instructor in Nursing.* GC, 1985-87
- Weaver, Christine* *Instructor Home Economics, Dietitian.* GC, 1945-48
- Weaver, H. Brent* *Information Services.* GC, 1979-82

- Weaver, Henry D., Jr. Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Chemistry and Provost Emeritus*. GC, 1957-80
- Weaver, J. Denny* M.Div. *Assistant Professor of Religion*. GC, 1974-76
- Weaver, U. Grant M.A. *Instructor History, Social Science*. GC, 1927-33
- Weaver, William B.* A.M. *Instructor History, Social Science*. GC, 1912-22
- Wegener, Jonathan G. Ph.D. *Professor of Psychology*. GC, 1963-66
- Weldy, Dwight E. D.Mus. *Professor Emeritus of Music*. GC, 1948-83
- Weldy, Leland M.S. *Admissions Counselor*. GC, 1962-66
- Weldy, Norma Jean* M.S. *Professor Emerita of Nursing*. GC, 1960-1993
- Wenger, Ann Francis Z. Ph.D. *Director of Nursing Division and Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1962-90
- Wenger, John C.* Th.D. *Professor of Theology and Philosophy*. GC, 1938-70
- Wenger, Marion R.* Ph.D. *Professor of German*. GC, 1963-88
- Wenig-Horswell, Judy M. M.F.A. *Associate Professor of Art*. GC, 1973; 1975-
- Weybright, Susan B. Ed.S. *Assistant Professor of Education*. GC, 1991-
- White, Neva Lois* A.B.L.S. *Assistant Librarian*. GC, 1945-50
- Whitmer, Paul E.* *Professor of Bible and English; Dean*. GC, 1908-16
- Widmer, Esther M.,* R.N. *Director of Nursing Service, Elkhart General Hospital*. GC, 1950-57
- Wiebe, Rudy H. M.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1963-68
- Willems, Leroy B.A. *Instructor in Social Work*. GC, 1975-80
- Winey, Lois E.* M.A. *Assistant Professor Emerita of Business*. GC, 1937-77
- Winter, John E. A.M. *Professor Philosophy and Education*. GC, 1913-15
- Wisner, Mary *Dietitian*. GC, 1912-22
- Witmer, Edith M. M.A. *Professor Home Economics*. GC, 1926-29
- Witmer, Linda E. M.P.H., M.S.P.H. *Associate Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1988-92
- Witmer, Samuel E.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Biology*. GC, 1915-59
- Witmer, Sana (Troyer)* *Instructor Biological Science*. GC, 1927-33
- Woods, Gail M.S.S. *Assistant Professor of Social Work (Part-time)*. GC, 1989-
- Wulliman, Phyllis* *Associate Director of Student Finance*. GC, 1976-88
- Wyse, Arnold *Acting Dean of Men*. GC, 1961-64
- Wyse, Berdene A.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Physical Education*. GC, 1965-76
- Wyse, Olive G.* Ed.D. *Professor Emerita of Home Economics*. GC, 1926-76
- Wyse, Rosemary A.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of English*. GC, 1978-88
- Yoder, Anna E. *Instructor Elocution, Physical Culture*. GC, 1903-06
- Yoder, Bradley L.* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Social Work*. GC, 1972-76
- Yoder, Devon J.* M.S.L.S. *Librarian*. GC, 1966-
- Yoder, E. LaVerne* M.A. *Instructor in English, Physical Education*. GC, 1936-42
- Yoder, Edward Ph.D. *Professor of Greek and Latin; Dean Of Men*. GC, 1926-28; 1933-37
- Yoder, Edwin J. *Business Manager*. GC, 1931-33
- Yoder, Gordon R. *Associate Director Emeritus of College Relations and Director of Special and Deferred Giving*. GC, 1972-93
- Yoder, Janette K. *Director of Special Programs in College Relations*. GC, 1989-
- Yoder, Jay Harold* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Physical Education*. GC, 1955-87
- Yoder, Jess* M.A. *Assistant Professor of Speech*. GC, 1959-64
- Yoder, John D.* Ph.D. *Director of Information Services*. GC, 1976-82; 1983-
- Yoder, Jonathan G.* M.D. *Instructor Mathematics, Physical Science*. GC, 1927-29
- Yoder, Joseph W. *Instructor in English Literature, History, Greek*. GC, 1900-01
- Yoder, Julia L.* *Assistant Director of Admissions*. GC, 1989-93

- Yoder, June A.* M.A. *Director of Admissions*. GC, 1976-82
- Yoder, Larry R. *Director of Merry Lea Environmental Learning Center and Associate Professor of Biology*. GC, 1981-
- Yoder, Lee *Assistant Dean of Men*. GC, 1962-64
- Yoder, Mary Chupp* R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1964-66
- Yoder, Michael L.* M.A. *Associate Professor of Sociology*. GC, 1976-82
- Yoder, Myron M.A. *Assistant Professor of Communication (Part-time)*. GC, 1987-
- Yoder, Orville* Ph.D. *Associate Dean and Professor of Education*. GC, 1970-80
- Yoder, Richard W. *Assistant Dean of Men*. GC, 1957-60
- Yoder, Robert L. M.A. *Associate Professor Emeritus of Spanish*. GC, 1968-93
- Yoder, Roland Ph.B. *Instructor Economics and Commerce*. GC, 1929-34
- Yoder, Ruth Laverne* *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1962-65
- Yoder, Samuel A.* Ph.D. *Professor of English*. GC, 1930-35, 1946-70
- Yoder, Samuel Lee* Ed.D. *Professor Emeritus of Education*. GC, 1961-85
- Yoder, Sanford C. S.T.D. *President Emeritus; Professor of Bible*. GC, 1924-51
- Yoder, Sanna* B.A. *Assistant Director of Information Services*. GC, 1985-88
- Yoder, Shirley M.P.H. *Coordinator, Continuing Education in Nursing*. GC, 1984-86
- Yoder, Walter E.* M.Mus. *Professor Emeritus of Music*. GC, 1931-57
- Yoder, Wealtha R.N. *Instructor in Nursing*. GC, 1968-70
- Yordy, John D.* Ph.D. *Professor of Chemistry*. GC, 1977-
- Yutzy, Katherine E. M.S. *Associate Professor Emerita of Nursing*. GC, 1970; 1973-75; 1977-93
- Zehr, Michael R.* *Associate Director of Admissions*. GC, 1988-
- Zimmerman, Arline* M.S. *Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1966-68
- Zimmerman, Lester J.* Ph.D. *Professor Emeritus of Mathematics*. GC, 1947-83
- Zimmerman, Verna* M.A. *Associate Professor Emerita of Nursing*. GC, 1952-75
- Zook, Bonetta* *Instructor in Home Economics*. GC, 1982-88
- Zook, Ephraim J. M.A. *Professor of Latin, Greek, French; Librarian*. GC, 1903-23
- Zook, John M.* *Director of Admissions*. GC, 1964-80
- Zook, Lina *Instructor in Bible*. GC, 1901-03
- Zook, Mervin D.* *Associate Director of College Relations and Director of Communications*. GC, 1964-78
- Zook, Rosemary* M.S.N. *Coordinator of Self Learning Center and Assistant Professor of Nursing*. GC, 1976-85
- Zook, Ruth B.S.N. *College Nurse*. GC, 1960-64
- Zook, Vesta* *Dean of Women; Assistant Professor Home Economics*. GC, 1916-23
- Zuercher, William R.* M.H.A. *Business Manager*. GC, 1960-62; 1985-90

APPENDIX C

Goshen College Buildings, 1903-1994

1903	East Hall completed in summer*
1903	Administration Building erected (renovated in 1967, 1972 and 1989)
1906	Kulp Hall erected (renovated in 1953, 1980, 1989 and 1992)
1915-16	Science Hall erected (renovated in 1953, 1980 and 1992)
1916	East Hall relocated, renamed North Hall*
1921	Gymnasium erected *
1929	Coffman Hall erected (renovated in 1960 and 1989)
1930	Kulp Hall rebuilt and enlarged
1936	South Cottage purchased and remodeled*
1939	Health Center erected
1940	Memorial Library erected
1941	Coffman Hall Annex erected
	College Cabin (gift of Class of 1941)
1944	West Cottage (1701 S. Main Street) purchased
1945	Heating Plant erected (renovated in 1965)
	Witmer Woods purchased
1946	South Cottage relocated and remodeled*
	Men's Quadrangle ("The Barracks") erected*
1947	Kenwood House (1613 S. 8th Street) purchased
1947-50	College Union erected (renovated in 1983)
1951	Westlawn erected
1952	Howell House (1609 S. 8th Street) purchased
	Home Management House (1703 Lawndale Place) purchased
1953	Kulp Hall-Westlawn Social Room constructed
1954	Observatory erected
	Athletic Field purchased
1955	Trailer Court established (expanded 1960)
1957	Arts Building erected (renovated in 1975, 1986 and 1989)
	High Park erected (renovated in 1975 and 1984)
1958	Shoup House (1633 S. Main Street) purchased
	Brunk's Cabin and property (Cass County, Mich.) donated
	Physical Plant building erected (renovated in 1966)
	Newcomer Center (Seminary) erected (enlarged and renovated in 1980)
1959	Church-Chapel erected (enlarged and renovated in 1993)
1962	Yoder Hall erected (renovated in 1989)
	East Hall purchased
1964	Kratz Hall erected
1966	Miller Hall erected
1967	Good Library erected
1972	President's House (305 Reservoir Place) donated
1978	Umble Center erected
1981	Merry Lea Environmental Center (Wolf Lake, Ind.) donated
1985	Marine Biology Facility (Layton, Fla.) donated
1991	Chairman Building purchased (Physical Plant storage)
1992	Schrock Annex (Science Building) completed
1993	Recreation-Fitness Center erected

* No longer standing

ABBREVIATIONS

AMC Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana

GH *Gospel Herald*

MBE Mennonite Board of Education

ME *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 5 vols.

MHB *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*

MHL Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana

ML *Mennonite Life*

MQR *Mennonite Quarterly Review*

Record *The Goshen College Record*

ENDNOTES

Chapter One: Introduction

1. "Goshen College President's Leadership Award," Admissions Office, Goshen College [1993].

2. John S. Umble, *Goshen College, 1894-1954: A Venture in Christian Higher Education* (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, 1955), 32.

3. In this book the terms Mennonite Church and Mennonite, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the (Old) Mennonite body of Mennonites in America, whose official name today is the Mennonite Church. In certain instances, (Old) Mennonite is used for the sake of clarity.

4. See C.F. Yake to E.E. Miller, June 12, 1943, and the report of the faculty and alumni meeting on October 30, 1943, in MBE, V-1-3, C.F. Yake Correspondence, 1943-1945, AMC. The Board at this time expressed its desire to consider a future modification of the motto, possibly during anniversary observances in 1945; no change, however, was made.

5. For a discussion of the use given the various terms see Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1988), 300, 353, n.21, and "New Drumbeats," the first chapter in Theron F. Schlabach, *Gospel versus Gospel: Mission and the Mennonite Church, 1863-1944* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1980), 19-53.

6. John S. Coffman himself had discreetly attended the 1893 Chicago World's Fair on two occasions where he heard evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Cyrus I. Scofield preach. See James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1989), 21-22, and Willard H. Smith, *Mennonites in Illinois* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1983), 306-307.

7. J.S. Coffman, Diary 1896, Hist. Mss. 1-19, Box 2, AMC. Subsequent citations from Coffman's diary are from this volume.

8. J.S. Hartzler, "Elkhart Institute," paper on the origins of Elkhart Institute, transcribed and addressed to H.S. Bender, November 1925, John S. Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 8, AMC; Elizabeth Gingrich Jacobs to Donald Gilbert, [ca. 1926], Umble Papers, Box 8, Folder 7.

9. Roy Umble, "Mennonite Preaching, 1864-1944" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1949), 105-156, provides a rhetorical analysis of "The Spirit of Progress"; pp. 147-151 give a history of the publication of Coffman's address.

10. "The Spirit of Progress," *Young People's Paper* 3 (February 29, 1896): 35; (March 14, 1896): 42-43; (March 28, 1896): 51. All subsequent citations of "The Spirit of Progress" come from this source.

11. Plainness of dress did not trouble the Mennonite evangelists of 1896 to the degree it would the following generation of Mennonite leaders. Coffman's only mention of clothing in his 1896 speech occurred in a light-hearted reference to the female love for progress, i.e. for rapid change, in fashions—a mild joke clearly directed at his Elkhart Institute audience.

12. M.S. Steiner, *John S. Coffman, Mennonite Evangelist: His Life and Labors* (Spring Grove, Pa.: Mennonite Book and Tract Society, 1903).

13. J.E. Hartzler to George L. Bender, July 19, 1918, H.F. Reist Correspondence, January-July 1918, MBE, V-1-7, AMC.

14. John S. Coffman, "The Spirit of Progress," *Christian Exponent* 1 (January 4, 1924):6-8; (January 18, 1924):23-24. George R. Brunk I, "Concerning J.S. Coffman," *Christian Exponent* I (June 20, 1924):207. Almost 60 years later Coffman's address appeared again, identified by the editor of MHB 47 (July, 1986):1 as the "remarkable . . . Mennonite Vision of 1896."

15. J.S. Coffman to M.S. Steiner, July 11, 1894, M.S. Steiner Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-33, Box 3, Folder 3, AMC. Coffman also understood the power of diplomacy. He had received a "sharp" letter from one of the critics they had discussed in July, Coffman wrote Steiner on November 7, 1894. The man had found one of Coffman's letters to him "rather tart." Therewith, Coffman assured Steiner, "I answered in tones like the cooing of a dove."

Chapter Two: Beginnings

1. J.C. Wenger, *The Mennonites In Indiana and Michigan* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1961), 93.

2. N.E. Byers, *The Sunday School*, vol. 2 of *Christian Worker's Manual* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1913), 17.

3. In 1867 in Wadsworth, Ohio, the General Conference Mennonite Church had organized a center for higher education, the Wadsworth Institute, which operated for ten years. In 1893 the same branch of Mennonites founded Bethel College in Newton, Kansas.

4. Juhnke, *Vision*, 22.

5. A popular reference text of Goshen College orators in 1900-1919 and throughout the 1920s was Tennyson's Arthurian poem "Merlin and the Gleam."

6. S.C. Yoder quoted in "Commencement," *Wright County Monitor* 32 (June 5, 1901): 5, quoted in Steven D. Reschly, "From Amisch Mennoniten to Amish Mennonites: A Clarion Call in Wright County, Iowa, 1892-1910" (master's thesis, University of Northern Iowa, 1987), 149.

7. S.C. Yoder, *The Days of My Years* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1959), 53. See also Yoder, "The Amish in Wright County," *The Palimpsest* 43 (September 1962): 431. The latter includes a photograph of Yoder with his 1901 high school graduating class.

8. C. Henry Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy* (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, 1962), 179-181.

9. James O. Lehman, *Creative Congregationalism: A History of the Oak Grove Mennonite Church in Wayne County, Ohio* (Smithville, Ohio: Oak Grove Mennonite Church, 1978), 130-131.

10. See Alice K. Gingerich, *The Life and Times of Daniel Kauffman* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1954), 14-25; Nate Yoder, "Daniel Kauffman and J.E. Hartzler: A Window into Mennonite Controversy, 1904-1923," recording of a talk presented at a meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Ind., March 3, 1992; and James Juhnke, "Gemeindechristentum and Bible Doctrine: Two Mennonite Visions of the Early Twentieth Century," *MQR* 57 (July 1983): 215. Following his conversion in 1890 and ordination in 1892, Daniel Kauffman continued to teach and serve as principal in the schools of Garden City, Missouri, until 1897, when he was called as bishop by the Missouri [Mennonite] Conference.

11. J.S. Hartzler, "Elkhart Institute."
12. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 109-110.
13. John S. Umble, "Early Sunday School Lesson Helps," *MQR* 12 (April 1938):
104. One gets an impression of Mumaw as something of a dabbler. Following a summer term at the early Institute, C. Henry Smith's impressions of Mumaw were of "a practicing physician who divided his time between prescribing pills and managing an educational enterprise and, like most men with divided interests, did neither well." Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 149-150.
14. J.S. Hartzler, "Elkhart Institute."
15. Dr. Mumaw's hastily-assembled business school undoubtedly appeared less "makeshift" in his time than it does in ours, since small institutes offering post-high school courses, certificates, and diplomas at the American turn of the century were springing up along similar or even less-organized lines.
16. "The Elkhart Institute," advertising brochure, 1894-1895, MBE, Goshen College, Elkhart Institute Materials, V-4-1, Box 1, AMC.
17. M.S. Steiner diaries, Hist. Mss. 1-33, Box 1, AMC.
18. J.S. Coffman to M.S. Steiner, July 11, 1894, Steiner Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-33, Box 3, Folder 3, AMC.
19. John Umble attributed to tradition the idea that the Coffman group had taken the initiative to incorporate. See Umble, *Goshen College*, 2.
20. Umble's *Goshen College*, 1-5 supplies many details of the Elkhart Institute's beginning; see also John S. Umble, "The Elkhart Institute Moves to Goshen," *MQR* 9 (January 1935): 37-44. For J.S. Hartzler's account see "The Elkhart Institute." A.C. Kolb, typed, signed statement, MBE, V-4-1, Box 2, AMC.
21. Lehman, *Oak Grove*, 136; Umble, *Goshen College*, 4.
22. I.W. Royer, "In the Beginning," address delivered at the Goshen College Alumni Reunion, Goshen, Indiana, June 3, 1950, reprinted in the *Goshen College Bulletin* (July 1950): 7.
23. I.W. Royer and A.J. Steiner were the first graduates of the Bible curriculum at Elkhart Institute.
24. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 151.
25. "Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of Goshen College," recording, January 7, 1954, Jacob Swartzentruber Tape Collection, Hist. Mss. 6-57.43, AMC, transcribed by Rachel Shenk April 4, 1985.
26. N.E. Byers, "The Times in Which I Lived—III," *ML* 7 (July 1952): 141.
27. Byers, "The Times in Which I Lived—I," *ML* 7 (January 1952): 45. Note comment by Harry F. Weber, *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois* (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1931), 156: "Perhaps the greatest event in the life of the [Science Ridge] church was [sic] the John Coffman Revival Meetings."
28. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 171-172.
29. Materials pertaining to N.E. Byers' activities at Northwestern University made available by University Archivist Patrick Quinn, Northwestern University Archives.
30. Byers, "Times-I," 47.
31. Byers, "Times-I," 46-47.
32. For a useful history of the India mission see John A. Lapp, *The Mennonite Church in India, 1897-1962* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1972).
33. George Lambert, *India, The Horror-Stricken Empire* (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1898), 34-36.

34. *Syllabus* 1898, yearbook published by the Northwestern University class of 1899.
35. *The Elkhart Institute Monthly*, October 15, 1900.
36. *Institute Monthly*, October 15, 1899. Note Schlabach's similar point that foreign mission gave inquiring Mennonites "a major opening into a larger world," *Gospel*, 158.
37. See Juhnke, *Vision*, 146, on the "gulf" remaining between isolated rural communities and the mission centers Mennonites created.
38. Lapp, *India*, 61; Schlabach, *Gospel*, 133.
39. See, for example, in President Byers' correspondence of 1910 letters from George J. Lapp and M.C. Lehman stressing the need for missionaries' thorough educational preparation before entering the field. N.E. Byers Correspondence, 1906-1913, MBE, Goshen College, Presidential Papers, V-4-14.1, AMC.
40. Schlabach, *Gospel*, 133.
41. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 171-172.
42. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 172.
43. Vernon Smucker to Amos E. Kreider, July 15, 1915, copy of letter courtesy of Robert S. Kreider, North Newton, Kansas.
44. Umble, *Goshen College*, 202.
45. Alice Gerig Martin, interview with author, Goshen, Indiana, August 6, 1992; Lehman, *Oak Grove*, 140, Umble, *Goshen College*, 49; and Byers, "Times-II," 81. According to Byers, in addition to touching on high points of continental civilization, his European tour with Gerig also broadened their understanding of Mennonite culture, through visits to a number of Mennonite communities in Germany and Switzerland. For a treatment of separate trips by evangelist A.D. Wenger (later president of Eastern Mennonite School) and former Goshen College president S.C. Yoder, see Robert Charles, "Innocents Abroad? American Mennonite Travelers in Europe," *MHB* (July 1992): 1-8.
46. Lapp, *India*, 41.
47. The author is indebted to Professor Ervin Beck, Goshen College, whose dissertation, "Prodigal Son Comedy: The Continuity of a Paradigm in English Drama, 1500-1640," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1972), 42-87, provides historical context for understanding the development of the prodigal son archetype in biblical commentary and dramatic literature.
48. Anna Kauffman to N.E. Byers, November 22, 1909, Byers Correspondence, AMC.
49. Mary Burkhard, December 4, 1900, in *Institute Monthly*, March 1901. Mary Burkhard's husband Jacob died in India in 1906, the first Mennonite missionary to die in the foreign mission field. He fell victim to a painful skin infection and was buried in a grove of mango trees on the mission compound. The Burkhard's had three children in India, the last born a month before his death. See Mary Yoder Burkhard, *Life and Letters of Jacob Burkhard: Missionary to India* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1936), 197-214. Following his death, Jacob Burkhard was frequently cited at Goshen College as a martyr to the mission cause.
50. M.C. Lehman to N.E. Byers, December 7, 1906, Byers Correspondence, AMC.
51. Juhnke, *Vision*, 156. Roy Umble, born in 1913, as a boy committed to memory the names of every Mennonite missionary in the field. Interview with author, Goshen, Indiana, January 17, 1994.

52. For detailed discussions of the tensions within the Prairie Street congregation and their relationship to the Elkhart Institute, see Umble, *Goshen College*, 3-8; J.C. Wenger, *The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1961), 94-95; Bryan Kehr, "John F. Funk and the Elkhart Institute," *MHB* (October 1985): 1-7; and Aaron C. Kolb, "John Fretz Funk, An Appreciation," *MQR* 6 (October 1932): 250-63.

53. The other Goshen locations where Goshen College might have landed provide interesting points for comparison: Wilden Hill, on East Lincoln Avenue near railroad depots then standing at the junction of East Lincoln Avenue and Ninth Streets; the Walnut Hill property in north Goshen at the west side Highway 15, which became the site of the private residence of the Abshire family; Burns Park, an area north of Waterford and east of Violet Cemetery; and the Daniel Ullery farm, west of the Elkhart River near the Goshen Bag Factory. See John S. Umble, "The Elkhart Institute Moves to Goshen," *MQR* 9 (January 1935):51-52.

54. Umble, *Goshen College*, 28.

55. Nelson Springer, "Those Were The Days," script for the Goshen College Faculty Banquet, May 10, 1969. Constructed in 1903, the East Hall dormitory was moved in 1915 from its foundations east of the Administration Building to the north side of College Avenue. Eventually people got into the habit of calling the building North Hall. Fire razed the 66-year-old building in 1969, just before its destruction by wrecking had been scheduled to take place. The original East Hall referred to here should not be confused with the latter-day campus's East Hall, a cottage fitted for student housing at the far east edge of campus.

56. Byers, "Times-II," 80. Byers implied in this article that his friend C. Henry Smith never let him forget the difficulties for the administration that seemingly resulted from the position Byers had taken on this issue. His wording here also suggests that when Byers eventually removed himself quietly from the presidency in 1913, he sacrificed his own position in (Old) Mennonite higher education to allow a "different leadership to carry on," an arrangement he deemed best for the church. See too Umble, *Goshen College*, 33-34.

57. N.E. Byers, "A New Year," *Christian Monitor* 3 (January 1912): 400, quoted in Paton Yoder, "Toward A Mennonite Philosophy of Higher Education Since 1890" (July 1968), 21; paper prepared for a workshop of the Philosophy of Christian Education Study for the Mennonite Church, Hesston, Kansas, September 13-16, 1968; MBE, V-10-1, AMC.

58. Smith Chapel talk reprinted in *Institute Monthly* (April 1899).

59. "The Educational Conference," *Institute Monthly* (August 1902).

60. As the children of Mennonite families increasingly attended their local public high schools, fewer traveled to Goshen to attend academy there; in 1935, after thirty-two years in operation, an action of the administration and Board of Education discontinued the Academy.

61. C.B. Blosser to N.E. Byers, November 19, 1908, Byers Correspondence, AMC; Byers does not seem to have been appointed to the State Board of Education in 1908.

62. A.M. Hess to N.E. Byers, December 7, 1908, in Byers Correspondence, AMC.

63. "The Education Conference," *Institute Monthly*, August 1902.

64. Mary Miller, *A Pillar of Cloud: The Story of Hesston College, 1909-1959* (North Newton, Kans.: Mennonite Press, 1959), 81.

65. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 202.
66. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 190.
67. Umble, "Elkhart Institute Moves to Goshen," 54.
68. Harvard had assembled the strongest faculty in philosophy found in America at the time, including William James and George Santayana. See Byers, "Times-II," 78.
69. J.S. Hartzler to N.E. Byers, June 4, 1912, Byers Correspondence, AMC.
70. *Institute Monthly* (February 1903 and April 1903).
71. See Lehman, *Oak Grove*, 136-142.
72. See Royer, "In the Beginning," 7.
73. *Bulletin of Goshen College*, July 1907.
74. *Catalogue of the Elkhart Institute, 1900-1901*, 25.
75. *Bulletin of Goshen College*, July 1907; *Record*, October 1907; correspondence from David J. Rempel Smucker, October 20, 1993. Source materials on Boyd D. Smucker kindly assembled for me by his grandson, David Rempel Smucker of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
76. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 210-211.
77. C. Henry Smith, "The Language of the Bible," *Institute Monthly* (April 15, 1900).
78. Yoder, "Toward a Mennonite Philosophy," 8, 21.
79. J.S. Hartzler to N.E. Byers, July 17, 1910, Byers Correspondence, AMC.
80. *Northwestern University Catalogue*, 1894-1897.
81. Byers wrote that during his year of graduate study at Harvard University (1903-1904), "No attempt was made to indoctrinate the students but the aim was to train them to think for themselves." Of his educational ideals, Byers wrote in 1952, "Guiding the student in formulating his own philosophy of life I regard as the chief function of a liberal arts education. My own philosophy would probably be characterized as theistic idealism, supplemented by pragmatism in more recent times." See Byers, "Times-II," 79, and "Times-III," 139.
82. Byers, "Times-II," 80.
83. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 9. I am indebted to Professor Ervin Beck, Goshen College, for drawing my attention to Matthew Arnold's use of the phrase.
84. *Institute Monthly* (August 1902) and *Record*, October 15, 1903.
85. Report quoted in J.C. Wenger, *The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan*, 100.
86. N.E. Byers to A.E. Kreider, April 16, 1923. David A. Yoder Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-314, AMC.
87. J.S. Hartzler to John S. Umble, February 9, 1934, J.S. Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 7, AMC.
88. Roy Umble pointed out that Noah Byers presumably chose purple and white as Goshen's school colors out of loyalty to his *alma mater* Northwestern. Interview with author, Goshen, Indiana, February 18, 1992.
89. M.E. Miller's original text for the college song read "Honor to our masters bringing," "masters" referring to the college's teachers. Years later the line was amended to "Honor to our Master bringing," so that the song might refer explicitly to the school's Christian loyalties.
90. J.S. Hartzler to N.E. Byers, January 24, 1910, Byers Correspondence, AMC.
91. Juhnke, *Vision*, 170.

92. Unsigned article, [John S. Umble?], *Fiftieth Anniversary Goshen College, 1895-1945*, (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College), 10.

93. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 209; Smith married Laura Ioder in 1908 and they made their own home in Goshen.

94. Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy*, 211.

95. Roy Umble, interview with author, February 18, 1992.

96. Umble, *Goshen College*, 51; "The Autobiography of Paul E. Whitmer," February 15, 1952 (Bluffton, Ohio, typescript). Loan of personal copy courtesy of Leonard Gross, Goshen, Indiana.

97. Paul E. Whitmer to John S. Umble, June 30, 1953, John S. Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 14, AMC.

98. *Christian Monitor* V (June 1913): 176-180. See Roy Umble, "Mennonite Preaching," 149n, for his comments on Byers' use of "The Spirit of Progress" and on Byers' editorial as a explanation of his resignation.

Chapter Three: Delicate Balance

1. The performance was repeated August 13 by popular request.

2. The instructors pictured on the photograph include summer music instructor Walter Yoder (also a soloist in the performance), cantata director and professor of history A.J. Miller, and college dean and summer school director Paul E. Whitmer.

3. Portions of the material on the production of Handel's "Saul" appeared in Susan Fisher Miller, "The Goshen College 'Groves of Academe,' August, 1914," *MHB* 54 (April 1993): 8-9.

4. "Old Goshen" is something of an omnibus term which deserves a word of explanation. The term did not exist until 1923-1924, of course; the year-long interruption of college operations at that point, known familiarly as "the closing" of Goshen College, divided the early period of college history from what followed. "Old Goshen" has been used additionally over the years to denote events and an atmosphere at Goshen College deemed *characteristic* of that period. In this book, I use "Old Goshen" to refer chronologically to Goshen College's first twenty-nine-years, 1894-1923, and also, in certain instances which I trust are made clear by their context, to indicate a distinct, early Goshen style or approach.

5. See J.E. Hartzler, "I Went to College," unpublished manuscript, [1958], Hist. Mss. 1-62, Box 41 (Large), AMC on behalf of AMBS; and "J.E. Hartzler: Autobiographical Notes," *MHB* 42 (April 1981): 3-5.

6. "Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of Goshen College," recording, January 7, 1954. Hartzler gave his first speech at age sixteen at a temperance speech contest sponsored by the Women's Christian Temperance Union of East Lynne, Missouri. Hartzler's later description of his impact on the tipplers of East Lynne presumably echoes the forensic style he employed on the occasion itself: "that whole crowd of weasel-eyed, red-nosed, slobber-mouthed bung-suckers of East Lynne got a sound trouncing." See "I Went to College," 22.

7. J.E. Hartzler, *Paths to Perdition* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1910). One strains to imagine the congregational setting Hartzler would have selected for the exposure of this last snare, white slavery. His sermon on the subject included, among other florid passages, the rhetorically unfortunate statement, "Anyone who has intelligently observed one of the decorated parlors of

vice of the brothel can not but wish that the fifteen or twenty girls from the ages of fourteen to twenty held there would actually be in their graves rather than where they are." Hartzler wrote late in life that at the time of writing these sermons he was "immature in [his] thinking and not able to do justice to the subject." Since *Paths to Perdition* was assembled during Hartzler's year of study at Union Theological Seminary, and based largely on conditions he observed in New York City, it is possible that he never delivered his "white slavery" sermon in a Mennonite church. (See "Autobiographical Notes," 5.) The printed sermons, however, circulated among Mennonites.

8. Paul Mininger, interview with author, March 10, 1992; Mervin Hostetler in an interview with the author November 14, 1992, demonstrated with his arms the almost violent gesticulations he remembered Hartzler making in the pulpit of the Walnut Creek congregation in Holmes County, Ohio; and Stephen C. Ainlay, interview with author, July 29, 1992. Ainlay relayed Guy F. Hershberger's experience as a boy in Kalona, Iowa, where Hershberger heard Hartzler deliver an impressive sermon as thunder cracked and lightning flashed around the East Union meetinghouse.

9. J.E. Hartzler to D.D. Miller, January 1, 1916, H. F. Reist Correspondence, MBE, V-1-7, AMC.

10. Extravagances in optimism in the Hartzler years displeased some loyal Goshen alumni as well as outside critics. In 1914, one recent graduate wrote a friend in that some alumni were whispering that "the College has been advertising too much, continually putting things in the superlative in the *Record* and [*Alumni*] *News Letter*." John J. Fisher (Sr.) to Amos E. Kreider, October 25, 1914, copy of letter courtesy of Robert S. Kreider North Newton, Kansas.

11. Minutes of Meeting of the MBE, Goshen College, June 17, 1911, MBE, V-1-8, AMC.

12. J.S. Shoemaker to George J. Lapp, February 15, 1918; George J. Lapp Correspondence, 1918-1919, Goshen College, Presidential Papers (one folder), V-4-14.3, AMC.

13. L.J. Heatwole, "A New Church- School Proposition," *GH* 6 (April 17, 1913), 45. This eastern school movement, begun in the congregation at Denbigh, Virginia, in December 1912 led to the 1917 establishment at Harrisonburg, Virginia, of Eastern Mennonite School. See Hubert R. Pellman, *Eastern Mennonite College, 1917-1957: A History* (Harrisonburg, Va.: Eastern Mennonite College, 1967), 16-46.

14. For a survey of these developments in the Mennonite Church see C. Norman Kraus, "American Mennonites and the Bible, 1750-1950," *MQR* 50 (October 1967), 309-329.

15. See on this point Philip D. Bender, "Mennonite Conceptions of Education, 1894-1923, and the Closing of Goshen College," history seminar paper, Goshen College, 1970, 22. When the student Orie Miller enthusiastically loaned W.N. Clarke's *Sixty Years with the Bible* to his father, D.D. Miller became so troubled by what he read that the next day he drove his horse to campus, two hours through the snow, to discuss with Orie his concern over Clarke's liberal ideas. See, Paul Erb, *Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and an Era* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969), 73.

16. Leonard Gross reviewed this period of theological consolidation from roughly 1908 to 1944, Daniel Kauffman's term as editor of the *Gospel Herald*, under

the heading "The Doctrinal Era of the Mennonite Church," *MQR* 60 (January 1986): 83-103.

17. Jacob B. Smith, 1870-1951, for many years a vigilant monitor and vocal critic of what he deemed worldly entertainments at Goshen College, had in his own student days attended Elkhart Institute, where he served as president and charter member of the Elkhart Institute Literary Society, founded January 22, 1895—the same literary society J.S. Coffman had hesitated in February 1896 to allow his own children to attend. Smith taught at Hesston College 1910-1917, and in 1917 became the first president of Eastern Mennonite School, where he served until 1922.

18. J.E. Hartzler to Daniel Kauffman, September 15, 1914, and Daniel Kauffman to J.E. Hartzler, September 22, 1914, Hartzler Correspondence, V-14-14-2, AMC.

19. Report of the Annual Meeting of the MBE at Achbold, Ohio, August 16, 1915, and at Goshen, Indiana, October 25, 1916, MBE, V-1-8, AMC.

20. Lehman, *Oak Grove*, 220.

21. B.B. King to S.C. Yoder, April 13, 1920, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 1, AMC.

22. Umble, *Goshen College*, 81.

23. Umble, *Goshen College*, 83.

24. Umble, *Goshen College*, 83.

25. Mamie Yoder Hartzler to J.E. Hartzler, November 1, 1915, Hartzler Correspondence, V-14-14.2, AMC.

26. Umble, *Goshen College*, 84.

27. Clara Hooley Hershberger, interview with author, February 20, 1992.

28. Umble's *Goshen College*, pp. 77-83, provides a detailed description of President Hartzler's fund-raising efforts and of events leading to the resignations of President Hartzler and J.S. Hartzler.

29. H.F. Reist to Exec. Comm. of MBE, March 7, 1919, S.C. Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Executive Committee, 1918-1920, Box 1, Folder 1, AMC.

30. [George J. Lapp], "Notes for Faculty Meeting," [February 1918], Lapp Correspondence, 1918-1919, Goshen College, Presidential Papers (one folder), V-4-14.3, AMC.

31. Umble, *Goshen College*, 89-90.

32. Umble, *Goshen College*, 90.

33. Irvin R. Detweiler, the only Goshen president to be drawn from the ranks of the active Goshen faculty during this period, was named on a basis of contingency rather than deliberate intent.

34. The board invited Byers to return as dean, not president as Umble had written, *Goshen College*, p. 53. Professor D.S. Gerig, who had replaced Paul Whitmer at the time of Whitmer's resignation in 1916, was serving as dean at the time the board considered Byers for the presidency.

35. N.E. Byers to G.J. Lapp, February 13, 1918, Lapp Correspondence, AMC.

36. D.S. Gerig to H.F. Reist, January 10, 1919, H.F. Reist Correspondence 1919-1928, MBE, V-1-7, AMC.

37. Umble, *Goshen College*, p. 94.

38. D.D. Miller to H.F. Reist, April 14, 1919, H.F. Reist Correspondence 1919-1928, MBE, V-1-7, AMC.

39. Minutes of an adjourned meeting of the Exec. Comm. of the MBE, Goshen, Indiana, February 17, 1920, MBE, V-1-1.1, AMC.

40. D.A. Yoder to S.C. Yoder, April 8, 1920, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," February 1917-May 1922, AMC.

41. Though the surviving correspondence contains no copy of the objectionable poster, a survey of campus activities in early 1920 suggests that it may have advertised a performance on campus by the Zoellner String Quartet, sponsored by the college Philharmonic Society, which took place in February 1920.

42. B.B. King to S.C. Yoder, April 13, 1920, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

43. Another point of concern of the Indiana-Michigan Conference which may have influenced the executive committee's criticism of Goshen in these months was an unofficial meeting among progressive educated men with ties to Goshen and several invited representatives of church boards, which took place on April 29, 1920, in Elkhart, Indiana. There J.E. Hartzler and fifty-one others met to continue discussions about the possibility for forming a new Mennonite seminary. See Stephen C. Ainlay, "The 1920 Seminary Movement: A Failed Attempt at Formal Theological Education in the Mennonite Church," *MQR* 64 (October 1990): 325-351 for a detailed examination of this movement.

44. Fred Kniss, "Disquiet in the Land: Conflict over Ideas and Symbols Among American Mennonites, 1870-1985" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1992), 73, made the point by comparing the 1921 Mennonite General Conference "Statement of Christian Fundamentals" (five pages long) and "Dress: A Brief Treatise" written and distributed by Daniel Kauffman the same year (forty-five pages).

45. One must make allowances when reading these minutes, of course, for whatever bias may have affected the secretary who recorded them, and for the flat tone formal minutes generally convey.

46. Minutes of Special Session of Ind.-Mich. Mennonite Conference, Home of I.A. Long, June 3, 1920, S.C. Yoder Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.

47. Professor of philosophy and education John J. Fisher Sr., on leave from campus for relief service with the American Friends Service Committee in Vienna, had instigated the students' fund drive to benefit impoverished Austrian students. See *Record*, May-June 1920.

48. J.B. Smith to MBE, February 18, 1918, J.E. Hartzler Papers (Personal), Hist. Mss. 1-62, Box 23, AMC.

49. N.E. Byers had made a similar point about the Bible's assistance to one's literary appreciation in his volume on *The Sunday School*, vol. 2 of *Christian Worker's Manual* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1913), a text to which both Detweiler and Smith had presumably had access.

50. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the MBE, June 18, 1921, MBE Archives, V-1-1.1, AMC.

51. Yoder, *Days of My Years*, 199.

52. Daniel Kauffman to S.C. Yoder, July 8, 1921, and July [n.d.], 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

53. John J. Fisher Sr. to Silas Hertzler, July 1, 1921, Hertzler Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-197, "John J. Fisher," Box 1, Folder 24, AMC. Quotations of the Fisher-Hertzler

correspondence in the following paragraphs are taken from this file.

54. J.E. Hartzler to I.R. Detweiler, July 12, 1921, J.E. Hartzler Papers (Personal), Hist. Mss. 1-62, AMC.

55. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of the MBE, July 16, 1921, MBE, V-1-1.1, AMC.

56. Umble, *Goshen College*, 101.

57. *Record*, November 1921. The "attempt" is probably a reference to the Limitations of Armaments conference then in session in Washington, D.C.

58. Umble, *Goshen College*, 101.

59. D.A. Yoder to S.C. Yoder, October 10, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

60. See the report in the *Goshen Daily News-Times* for March 10, 1923, "Students' Council to Call a Mass Meeting": "The particular match which set off the fireworks was the building of a gymnasium on the college campus a year ago. This was put up by the students at a cost of \$5,000 raised among the citizens of Goshen."

61. See J.H. Mosemann Sr. to S.C. Yoder, May 1, 1922, and Yoder to Mosemann, May 4, 1922, in Hist. Mss. 1-162, S.C. Yoder, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC; a drawing by another hand of a similar Goshen College Tree exists in Hist. Mss. 1-526 SC #3078 (Folder), AMC.

62. S.C. Yoder, *Days of My Years*, 200. Helped by much counsel against it from conservatives and progressives alike, Yoder had resisted pressures in 1922 from the East to install the far more provocative J.B. Smith in a key Goshen position.

63. Paul Erb, "Daniel Kauffman," *ME* III: 157.

64. Umble, *Goshen College*, 103.

65. Students later presented these views to the board in the form of a petition, probably sometime after March 17.

66. Mervin Hostetler, interview with author, November 14, 1992.

67. The local press consistently reported the Goshen ruckus from an anti-board point of view, as if its leads were supplied by a faculty-student source such as the *Record*.

68. Ivan Hostetler to Lester Hostetler, March 20, 1923, Lester and Charity (Steiner) Hostetler Correspondence through 1929, Hist. Mss. 1-335, AMC.

69. *Goshen News-Times*, March 9, 1923.

70. Ivan Hostetler to Lester Hostetler, March 20, 1923.

71. Beyond facing the demands of the presidency, Kauffman and his wife, Mollie, lost a sixteen-year-old son, Paul, during their residence in Goshen. An exceptionally handsome, dark-eyed student in the Goshen Academy, Paul Kauffman fell through the ice and drowned while skating with other students on the Elkhart River above the Goshen dam on December 27, 1923. Alice K. Gingerich, *The Life and Times of Daniel Kauffman* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1954), 79; Umble, *Goshen College*, 114, n.7; *Record*, January 1923; *Maple Leaf* (1923); Mervin Hostetler, interview with author, November 14, 1992.

72. Committee member Albert J. Steiner, however, was one of the two first graduates of the Elkhart Institute's Bible School.

73. Orie Miller to D.D. Miller and E.A. Meyer quoted in Paul Erb, *Orie O. Miller*, 112-113.

Chapter 4: Academics and Ecclesiastics

1. John Umble to Rudy Senger, March 15, 1923, John S. Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 8, AMC.
2. Mervin Hostetler, interview with author, November 14, 1992.
3. Speech reprinted in *Record*, May-June 1922; subsequent quotations from *Record*. W. Wilbur Miller was the son of Bishop Daniel D. Miller and brother of Orie O. and Ernest E. Miller.
4. D.G. Lapp to S.C. Yoder, March 24, 1924, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.
5. E.N. Bell to S.C. Yoder, April 18, 1923, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.
6. S.C. Yoder to E.N. Bell, April 21, 1923, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.
7. J.B. Smith to MBE, February 18, 1918, J.E. Hartzler Papers (Personal), Hist. Mss. 1-62, Box 23, AMC.
8. J.S. Shoemaker to S.C. Yoder, July 11, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.
9. Schlabach, *Gospel*, 114.
10. Lester J. Hostetler to "Fellow Classmates," August 7, 1917, copy in Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.
11. J.B. Smith, February 16, 1917 [i.e. 1918], Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC. The young minister Hostetler, who had introduced many innovations at the Walnut Creek Amish Mennonite congregation, following 1917 continued to receive criticism from the Eastern Amish Mennonite conference and from other figures in the larger church until, following a number of investigations of Hostetler's theological orthodoxy by conference committees, the Walnut Creek congregation voted for his resignation. In 1926, Hostetler became the pastor of an independent congregation in Sugarcreek, Ohio, which in 1929 joined the General Conference Mennonite branch. See also Juhnke, *Vision*, 265-267.
12. Quoted in Smith, *Mennonites in Illinois*, 304; see also Juhnke, *Vision*, 259.
13. Pellman, *Eastern Mennonite College*, 76-77.
14. Kraus, "Mennonites and the Bible," 326; Schlabach, *Gospel*, 110-111, and *Peace*, 308; Juhnke, *Vision*, 262; Guy F. Hershberger, introduction to *Edward, Pilgrimage of a Mind: The Journal of Edward Yoder, 1931-1945*, ed. Ida Yoder (Wadsworth, Ohio: Ida Yoder, 1985) xxi-xxii; and Paul Toews, "Fundamentalist Conflict in Mennonite Colleges: A Response to Cultural Transitions?," *MQR* 57 (July 1983): 241-256.
15. Kraus, "Mennonites and the Bible," 324.
16. Guy F. Hershberger, "Comments on Sawatsky's Thesis" [1979], 78, Hist. Mss. 1-71, Box 57, Folder 3, AMC.
17. Juhnke, *Vision*, 260, suggests that "conservative Mennonite anti-Modernist" makes a more accurate label than "fundamentalist." See also Smith, *Mennonites in Illinois*, 329-330, whose Chapter 12, "Strain, Stress, Liberalism, Fundamentalism," 303-344, offers an extensive, balanced survey of conditions from 1894 to 1980 which is helpful not only to understanding the issues in Illinois but in the entire Mennonite Church; and note Hershberger, "Comments," 78: "Before the history of this era is written we must first go all out to clean up the mishmash from our own thinking and nomenclature."

18. See, for example, Rudy Senger to John S. Umble, May 12, 1924, Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 146, Box 8, Folder 9, AMC: "The [Indiana-Michigan] Executive Committee ran the whole thing, conference, congregations, preachers and all. Only bishops' sons have any right of way in these parts."

19. Note, for example, Guy F. Hershberger's marginal comment on p. 115 of a copy of Rodney J. Sawatsky, "The Influence of Fundamentalism on Mennonite Nonresistance, 1908-1944," (master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1973), in which Sawatsky quoted George R. Brunk I: "Here GRB is GRB." (Copy of Sawatsky thesis with Hershberger's marginal comments in Hist. Mss. 1-171, Box 57, Folder 1, AMC.) See also Hershberger's "Comments," 66, on George R. Brunk I as a colorful, complex character.

20. H.S. Bender in "Comments on the J. J. Hildebrand Article," (Mennonite Historical Library, typescript, [between 1940 and 1954]) wrote that the major cause of the college's closing was "failure to conciliate the opposition in the church which was convinced that the leaders of the school were liberal in theology and were not in sympathy with the teaching and practice of the church on non-conformity." He had earlier depicted the tensions surrounding Old Goshen College in terms of an academic and ecclesiastical conflict in his review of J.E. Hartzler's *Education Among the Mennonites in America* (Danvers, Illinois: Central Mennonite Publishing Board, 1925), *The College Record Review Supplement* 27 (May-June 1926): 39.

21. H.F. Reist to D.D. Miller, February 28, 1919, H.F. Reist Correspondence, 1919-1920, MBE, V-1-7, AMC.

22. J.K. Bixler to S.C. Yoder, July 15, 1921; B.B. King to S.C. Yoder, July 15, 1921; George R. Brunk I to S.C. Yoder, n.d. [July 1921]; all correspondence in Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

23. A.E. Kreider to S.C. Yoder, May 20, 1922, S.C. Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.

24. Vernon Smucker to S.C. Yoder, May 24, 1922, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.

25. Umble, *Goshen College*, 104-110.

26. Writing in 1970, Philip D. Bender drew a similar conclusion in his Goshen College history seminar paper, "Mennonite Conceptions of Education, 1894-1923, and the Closing of Goshen College," 29: "The closing of Goshen College in 1923 . . . starkly illuminated the deep divergence in educational philosophy between the leaders of Goshen College and the leaders of the Mennonite Church."

27. Roy Umble, interview with author, February 18, 1992, commented that going back in the literary society and oratorical tradition as far as Elkhart Institute there was a sense on the part of the faculty and students that the students entering this training were "not going to be the same people they were before college."

28. Kraus, "Mennonites and the Bible," 326.

29. The most extreme critics describing Goshen College used organic metaphors: seeds, bad fruits, weeds, an open sore, a graveyard, and the like. Their verbs implied extermination: uprooting, weeding out, throwing out, casting out the bondwoman, cleaning house. Milder critics spoke of the need for "reconstruction" or "rebuilding" at Goshen.

30. Elizabeth Horsch Bender, "My Seasons of Life," *MQR* 60 (July 1986): 234, and "On the Writing of the 'Anabaptist Vision,'" interview by Leonard Gross, *MHB*

47 (July 1986): 7; Juhnke, *Vision*, 268. But on the question of Old Goshen faculty views of the atonement, see Janeen Bertsche, who concludes in a 1986 seminar paper, "J.E. Hartzler: The Change in His Approach to Doctrine," 1986 (Bluffton College, photocopy), that while Hartzler's underlying assumptions about Christian doctrine changed during his life, his view of the atonement remained traditional. See also Bertsche, "Views of the Atonement in the *Christian Exponent*," *ML* 41 (June 1986): 4-8.

31. Hershberger, "Comments," 54-55. See also Hershberger, "The Times of Sanford Calvin Yoder: The Mennonite Church and the First Fifty Years of Goshen College," in *An Evening to Honor Sanford Calvin Yoder* (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, 1974), 14.

32. Anna Kauffman Hess to N.E. Byers, November 22, 1909, Byers Correspondence, V-4-14.1, AMC; see also Nathan Yoder, Harrisonburg, Virginia, "Byers and Kauffman Hess," unpublished manuscript provided by the author.

33. In the Byers period and following, Goshen students distinguished themselves by gaining entrance to prestigious graduate institutions; see Umble, *Goshen College*, 67.

34. Erb, *Orie O. Miller*, 109ff.

35. *Institute Monthly* (April, 1899): 51; *Institute Monthly* (February 14, 1902): 85; Juhnke, *Vision*, 164-165, also makes note of this distinction and quotes Smith and Kauffman. One must avoid attaching to Kauffman's word "indoctrination" modern connotations of the word that suggest totalitarian control of subjects' minds. Kauffman in the context clearly employs the word "indoctrinated" to convey the idea of having received a body of Christian doctrine.

36. C. Henry Smith, *Young People's Paper* (March 2, 1895): 34, and (April 27, 1895): 66.

37. Daniel Kauffman to N.E. Byers, February 6, 1908, Byers Correspondence, V-4-14.1, AMC.

38. John J. Fisher (Sr.), *Christian Exponent* I (January 18, 1924): 23.

39. [Daniel Kauffman], "Once in a While," *GH* 18 (October 1, 1925): 1-2; "No Middle Ground," *Christian Doctrine*, a quarterly supplement to *GH* (April 15, 1926): 1.

40. George R. Brunk I to S.C. Yoder, [July 1921], Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

41. A.E. Kreider to S.C. Yoder, April 4, 1922, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

42. D.J. Johns to S.C. Yoder, March 22, 1923, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

43. J.M. Kreider to S.C. Yoder, July 12, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

44. Anna Kauffman Hess to N.E. Byers, July 9, 1909, Byers Correspondence, V-4-14.1, AMC.

45. Vernon Smucker to J.E. Hartzler, June 11, 1916, Hartzler Correspondence, V-4-14.2, Box 3, AMC.

46. N.E. Byers to G.J. Lapp, February 13, 1918, Lapp Papers, V-4-14.3, AMC.

47. J.S. Shoemaker to G.J. Lapp, February 15, 1918, Lapp Papers, V-4-14.3, AMC.

48. J.K. Bixler to S.C. Yoder, July 15, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

49. J.S. Umble to Rudy Senger, March 15, 1923, Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 9, AMC.
50. "On the Writing of the 'Anabaptist Vision,'" interview by Leonard Gross, *MHB* 47 (July 1986):7; "Ignorance versus Error," *Record*, January 1918.
51. Samuel Burkhard, "To the Alumni of Goshen College," April 17, 1923 (Tempe, Arizona, mimeographed copy), 5.
52. J.C. Meyer to H.S. Bender, August 5, 1919, J.C. Meyer Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-44, Box 1, Folder 9, AMC.
53. See N.C. Hirschy, "Higher Criticism," *The Review* 1 (May 16, 1899), and Schlabach, *Gospel*, 114.
54. G.J. Lapp to J.E. Hartzler, May 19, 1916, Hartzler Correspondence, V-4-14.2, AMC.
55. Schlabach, *Gospel*, 133; and M.C. Lehman, "Goshen in the East," *Maple Leaf* (1915), 119.
56. A.J. Bendle quoted in Juhnke, *Vision*, 168-169.
57. Schlabach, *Gospel*, 133; George R. Brunk I on publishing house quoted in Juhnke, *Vision*, 263.
58. D.H. Bender to SC Yoder, May 17, 1922, Yoder Correspondence, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.
59. [G.J. Lapp], "Notes for Faculty Meeting," [February 1918].
60. George R. Brunk I to S.C. Yoder, [July 1921], Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.
61. Correspondents in Mennonite college and church circles in the second decade of the twentieth century compared notes on newly purchased typewriters much as new owners of computer hardware trade stories and pointers today.
62. See J.E. Hartzler to C.F. Derstine, December 9, 1915, and December 30, 1915, and C.F. Derstine to J.E. Hartzler, [before December 30, 1915], Hartzler Correspondence, V-4-14.2, AMC.
63. Elizabeth Horsch Bender, "Anabaptist Vision," interview with Gross, 7.
64. J.H. Mosemann Sr. to George J. Lapp, February 15, 1918, Lapp Papers, V-4-14.3, AMC; Noah H. Mack to S.C. Yoder, July 11, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.
65. J.H. Mosemann Sr. to S.C. Yoder, July 9, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. MSS. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, and May 8, 1922, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.
66. B.B. King to MBE Exec. Comm., July 15, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.
67. It should be noted here that Anabaptist freedom of conscience in the hands of some academics could look suspiciously like twentieth century political democracy. See Samuel Burkhard, "The Case of Goshen College" [March 1923], (Tempe, Arizona, mimeographed copy), and Ivan Hostetler to Lester Hostetler, March 20, 1923, Lester and Charity (Steiner) Hostetler Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-335, Correspondence through 1929, AMC.
68. Melvin Gingerich, "The Virtues of Simple Dress," *ML* 26 (December 1971): 151: "When the language barrier was surrendered and geographic isolation was lost, a final effort was made to strengthen the third separation device, that of simple dress"; also his *Mennonite Attire Through Four Centuries* (Breiningsville, Penn.: The Pa. German Society, 1970), 148.

69. Elizabeth Bender illustrated Daniel Kauffman's ideal of plainness by pointing out that he forbade his wife, Mollie, to plant geraniums in their window boxes: bright geranium blooms were not plain; see "The John F. Funk Era," interview by Leonard Gross, *MHB* 46 (January 1985): 5.

70. Daniel Kauffman to N.E. Byers, January 25, 1909, Byers Correspondence, V-4-14.1, AMC.

71. Minutes of Special Session of Ind.-Mich. Mennonite Conference, June 3, 1920, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922; J.M. Kurtz's off-the-record response reported by B.B. King to S.C. Yoder, July 15, 1921, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

72. Paul E. Whitmer, "The Autobiography of Paul E. Whitmer" (typescript, 1952), 79-80.

73. J.C. Meyer to H.S. Bender, August 5, 1919, J.C. Meyer Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-44, Box 1, Folder 9, AMC. The actual resolution of the conference was an approval of the Executive Committee's action adopting the collarless coat in uniforms worn by Mennonite relief workers in the Near East "but that the puttees and officers caps be discontinued." See *GH* 12 (July 3, 1919): 258.

74. Burkhard, "The Case of Goshen College," 2.

75. Elizabeth Horsch Bender, "Daniel Kauffman and the Doctrinal Interlude," interview by Leonard Gross, *MHB* 46 (July 1985): 4.

76. Academics were grumbling about bishops' hypocrisy in 1923: see Samuel Burkhard on a conference investigation into the methods of Bishop J.K. Bixler case in "The Case of Goshen College"; Ivan Hostetler to Lester Hostetler, March 20, 1923, on Bishop D.D. Miller permitting fellow ministers to purchase stock in banks but prohibiting life insurance, and on corrupt members in positions of power. On maneuverings of bishops, dissatisfaction with new faculty recruited for the college's reopening, see Rudy Senger to John Umble, May 1924, Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 9, AMC.

77. D.H. Bender to S.C. Yoder, May 17, 1922, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.

78. Juhnke, *Vision*, 262, and "Mennonite Church Theology and Social Boundaries, 1920-1930—Loyalists, Liberals, and Laxitarians," *ML* 38 (June 1983), 18-24.

79. George R. Brunk I to S.C. Yoder, [July 1921], Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Presidency, 1921, Box 1, Folder 7, AMC.

80. Alice Gerig Martin, interview with author, August 6, 1992.

81. See Burkhard, "The Case of Goshen College"; Ivan Hostetler to Lester Hostetler, March 20, 1923; J.E. Hartzler, *Education among the Mennonites of America*; and H.S. Bender review of Hartzler, *The College Record Review Supplement* 27 (May-June 1926): 35-44. That the Goshen contingent even availed themselves of Anabaptist precedent was nonetheless significant; this eagerness to appropriate Anabaptist history in the pre-closing period at Goshen College laid part of the foundation for the discriminating studies in Anabaptist history that were to follow.

82. M.S. Steiner, "A Sober Second Thought," *GH* 2 (May 10, 1910): 789-790.

83. M.S. Steiner to N.E. Byers, February 3, 1909, Byers Correspondence, V-4-14.1, AMC.

84. Robert S. Kreider expressed the lack among the church leaders in the 1920s of "pastoral persons who could listen to the liberal, impatient, and

sometimes arrogant youth and who could understand them." See Kreider, "Discerning the Times," *Kingdom Cross and Community: Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honor of Guy F. Hershberger*, ed. John Richard Burkholder and Calvin Redekop (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1976), 65-85, and Robert S. Kreider, interview with author, October 15, 1993.

85. D.J. Johns to S.C. Yoder, March 22, 1923, Yoder correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

86. S.R. Good to S.C. Yoder, March 22, 1923, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

87. Orie O. Miller to S.C. Yoder, March 24, 1923, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, MBE Exec. Comm., 1921-1925, Box 1, Folder 2, AMC.

88. Alice Gerig Martin, interview with author, August 6, 1992. She also noted the discussions her mother, Bessie Landis Gerig had with other faculty spouses.

89. Agnes Weaver Eigsti, interview by Leonard Gross, on term "B.C., Before Closing," and disfellowshipping at College Mennonite Church, July 5, 1992, recording.

90. Calvin Redekop, *Mennonite Society* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 182.

91. Burkhard, "To the Alumni," April 17, 1923.

92. Tilman Smith, interview with author, December 30, 1992.

Chapter Five: New Equilibrium

1. Kreider, *Kingdom*, 81-82.

2. Hershberger, *S.C. Yoder*, 26.

3. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the MBE, February 19-20, 1940, Goshen, Indiana, V-1-1.1, AMC. At the annual board meeting in February 1939, Yoder had alerted the board of his intention to retire at the end of the 1939-1940 year, saying that his length of service, the need to bring energetic work to the process of college accreditation in 1940-1941, and the fact that he carried numerous official responsibilities all urged him to consider retirement. See Minutes of the MBE, February 3-4, 1939, AMC.

4. Stanley C. Shenk, "A Tribute to S.C. Yoder," *MHB* 33 (January 1972): 3; Lawrence and Harriet Burkholder, interview with author, February 13, 1992, indicated S.C. Yoder's increased freedom, shortly after his retirement in 1940, to speak of the difficulties of his office.

5. Clara Hooley Hershberger, interview with author, February 20, 1992.

6. S.C. Yoder to Noah Oyer, February 21, 1924, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

7. "For Prospective Teachers," MBE, Goshen, Indiana, V-1-18, AMC.

8. Rudy Senger to John S. Umble, May 12, 1924, Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, folder 9, AMC.

9. Umble, *Goshen College*, 118.

10. S.C. Yoder to Noah Oyer, April 22, 1924, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

11. Leonard Gross, Foreword, *Edward*, xi, wrote of a "creative stock of Iowa Amish Mennonites that defies ultimate categorization."

12. H.S. Bender and Elizabeth Horsch, fellow members of the Goshen Collge Class of 1918, were married in the spring of 1923. That summer they sailed to

Europe, where Harold studied during 1923-1924 at the University of Tübingen as a George S. Green fellow appointed by Princeton Theological Seminary. I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of Albert N. Keim, Eastern Mennonite College, for allowing me to read in draft form portions of his forthcoming biography of H.S. Bender, material which supplied a broader context for understanding the roles played by H.S. and Elizabeth Bender at Goshen College.

13. J.B. Smith to MBE, February 18, 1918, and J.L. Stauffer to MBE, February 20, 1918; H.F. Reist Correspondence, January-July 1918, MBE, V-1-7, AMC. Smith and Stauffer made a point of laying the ultimate blame for the ideas of "Ignorance versus Error" on Professor William B. Weaver, for whose history class Elizabeth Horsch had written the essay.

14. Hesston College's former dean, J.D. Charles, had been Yoder's first choice, but on August 29, 1923, just after Yoder's own election as Goshen's president, Yoder had learned of Charles' sudden death.

15. Noah Oyer to S.C. Yoder, May 22, 1922, Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "GC Problems," 1917-1922, AMC.

16. H.R. Schertz succeeded S.C. Yoder as president of the Board of Education in 1924.

17. S.C. Yoder to Noah Oyer, February 14, 1924, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

18. "Goshen College," *Christian Exponent* I (March 14, 1924): 84-85.

19. On April 22, 1924, Yoder reported to Oyer laying down as a condition of re-employment to long-time Goshen professor E.J. Zook "that he sever all connection with the new paper at Wooster, Ohio." Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC. See also Juhnke, *Vision*, 279, on Yoder's request to H.S. Bender.

20. Rudy Senger to John S. Umble, May 12, 1924, Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 9, AMC.

21. Robert S. Kreider, "Growing up Mennonite: First Old and Then General," *GH* 81 (September 27, 1988): 655. Roy Umble, interview with author, February 18, 1992.

22. S.C. Yoder to Noah Oyer, April 7, 1924, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC. "I am not in favor of giving the old regime too much consideration," he wrote to Oyer December 17, 1923, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

23. See Yoder to Oyer, May 24, 1924, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

24. Hartzler, *Education Among the Mennonites*, 149. J.E. Hartzler's 187-page work attempted to trace developments in all American Mennonite educational endeavors from 1683 to 1925.

25. J.C. Meyer to H.S. Bender, August 5, 1919, J.C. Meyer Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-44, Box 1, Folder 9, AMC.

26. One takes note, for example, of the positive spirit of the women's literary club, PHALO (an acronym standing for Philosophy, History, Art, Literature, Oratory), which was organized along the lines of a literary society by the women of the College Mennonite and Eighth Street Mennonite congregations. PHALO cultivated friendly, social associations among women belonging to groups some viewed as opposing factions. Today the PHALO Club continues to include equal numbers of members from the two congregations.

27. F. A. Conrad to S.C. Yoder, November 15, 1924, S.C. Yoder Correspondence, October 1923-March 1925, Hist. Mss. 1-162, Box 2, Folder 5,

AMC. Conrad was the son of deacon Peter Conrad of the Oak Grove congregation, Smithville, Ohio.

28. Christian L. Graber, *Looking Back* (Goshen, Ind.: Lucille Graber Swartzendruber, 1982), 48.

29. John Horsch, *The Mennonite Church and Modernism* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1924): 14-15.

30. N.E. Beyers, "A Reply," *Christian Exponent* I (July 18, 1924): 239-240; J.E. Hartzler, *Christian Exponent* I (August 15, 1924): 271-272.

31. John J. Fisher Sr. to Silas Hertzler, April 28, 1924, Hertzler Papers, Hist. Ms., 1-197, Box 1, Folder 24, AMC.

32. Elizabeth's father, John Horsch, had met Correll while traveling in Germany in 1923 and introduced him to his daughter and son-in-law.

33. Olive Wyse, "Senior Statement: We Have Come a Long Way (1924-1976)," *MQR* 52 (April 1978): 165.

34. Hershberger, *S.C. Yoder*, 31.

35. Minnie Swartzendruber Graber, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

36. Noah Oyer and H.S. Bender were both also, as it happened, fathers of children who became highly regarded professors at Goshen College, Mary K. Oyer (music and fine arts), John S. Oyer (history, editor of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* and director of the Mennonite Historical Library), and Mary Eleanor Bender (German, French, English literature).

37. Willard Smith, interview with author, December 28, 1992.

38. Mary Miller, *Hesston College*, 78.

39. Graber, *Looking Back*, 48.

40. Umble, *Goshen College*, 116, described Emma Yoder's suggestion that he "hire Graber" as business manager; Graber, *Looking Back*, 48, wrote that he believed his associations with Orie O. Miller in Near East Relief had helped secure him the job of business manager, in addition to the fact that Sanford Yoder "was open for [Iowa] Hawkeyes on his staff."

41. Umble, *Goshen College*, 128.

42. Wyse, "Senior Statement," 167-168.

43. Lois Gunden Clemens, interview with author, March 13, 1994.

44. In April 1932, while dean at Hesston College, Edward Yoder had taken Shakespeare's lines on the "sweet uses of adversity" as his theme in a chapel talk; as class orator addressing the graduates of the Hesston Academy in 1917 he had drawn on the same text. See *Edward*, 86, and Mary Miller, *Hesston College*, 85-86.

45. *Edward* (entry for February 11, 1934), 198-199.

46. Edward Yoder left Goshen College in 1938 to accept an editorial and writing position at the Mennonite Publishing House in Scottsdale, Pennsylvania. His useful career was cut short in March 1945 when he died from cancer at age fifty-one.

47. For John Umble's informative treatment of the Depression era at Goshen College, see Umble, *Goshen College*, 136-139.

48. Silas Hertzler, Diaries, 1931, Hist. Mss. 1-197, AMC; transcribed copy provided to me courtesy of Ruth Charlotte Hertzler Croyle.

49. *Edward* (entries for December 2, 1933, 186 and November 5, 1934), 238.

50. John and Pauline Fisher, interview with author, October 25, 1993.

51. According to his assistant Lois Winey, C.L. Graber's receipt book after a Depression solicitation trip typically registered entries of 50 cents, 60 cents, 80

cents. Graber nixed sending receipts to certain donors because the postage costs would have undermined the gain of the donation.

52. Lois Winey, interview with author, February 11, 1992. The unusual amount of authority in college financial matters given to the female "assistant" Winey, who remained at her post following graduation, weighed more heavily in behind-the-scenes responsibility than it did in public credit. Winey ultimately made a forty-year faculty career at Goshen College in business administration and teaching, serving essentially but unofficially during a business manager's absence in that capacity. Nelson Springer, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

53. Information from Roy Umble, January 17, 1994.

54. Mary Kaufmann Clemens, interview with author, March 17, 1994.

55. Umble, *Goshen College*, 138.

56. I am indebted to Mabel V. Brunk, daughter of Joseph E. and Alice Brunk, for information she provided about her parents' involvement with the Goshen College shirt factory.

57. Roy Umble, interview with author, February 18, 1992.

58. *Edward* (entry for April 28, 1933), 156-157.

59. Nelson Springer, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

60. Stanley Shenk, "Tribute," 3.

61. J.B. Smith to MBE, [late 1930-early 1931], Yoder Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-162, "J.B. Smith, 1917-1935," Box 4, Folder 12, AMC. See Edward Yoder's reflections on the incident from his vantage point as dean at Hesston College in *Edward* (entry for March 29, 1931), 16-17.

62. See Silas Hertzler, *Diaries*, February 25-March 1, 1931.

63. Clara Hershberger, interview with author, February 20, 1992. S.C. Yoder returned the harshest such letter to its sender, citing with almost fierce moral clarity its "unkindness" to the dying Noah Oyer. See the exchange of letters between John H. Mosemann Sr. and S.C. Yoder in Orie O. Miller Correspondence, Hist. Mss. 1-45, Miscellaneous, "MBE—1931 trouble, J.B. Smith and Mosemann," Box 69, File 5, AMC.

64. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 16, 1994.

65. S.C. Yoder to A.H. Lehman, February 26, 1931, Hist. Mass. 1-162, S.C. Yoder Correspondence, "J.B. Smith 1917-1935," Box 4, Folder 12, AMC.

66. S.C. Yoder to J.B. Smith, April 7, 1934, Hist. Mass. 1-162, S.C. Yoder Correspondence, "J.B. Smith 1917-1935," Box 4, Folder 12, AMC.

67. S.C. Yoder to Noah Oyer, [before March 1, 1924] Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC.

68. H.S. Bender, "Fundamentals," *GH* 18 (January 21, 1926): 885-887.

69. H.S. Bender, review of *Education Among the Mennonites*. See earlier the exchange on Anabaptist freedom of conscience between Hartzler and Bender in *The Christian Exponent*: J.E. Hartzler, "Faith of Our Fathers," I (February 1, 1924): 38-39 and H.S. Bender, "The Historical Approach," I (April 11, 1924): 127. James Juhnke, *Vision*, 281, calls Bender's review of J.E. Hartzler's *Education Among the Mennonites* "probably the most devastating and condescending sustained review of a Mennonite book any Mennonite scholar has ever written."

70. See Ernst Correll's courtly apology to Dean Noah Oyer, March 29, 1927, upon discovering his ignorance of college standards governing smoking outside as well as within the vicinity of campus. "I am perfectly willing to observe the rule. . . . Coming from Europe and European Mennonites my observations as to smoking

were different." Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, AMC. Professor Correll once exclaimed to student Henry Bohn in the midst of German class, "Mister Bohn, you are a continual source of distribution!" (*Record*, April 1927). Correll's acceptability at Goshen was also enhanced by the good impression he had made on John Horsch while Horsch was visiting Europe in 1923.

71. "Mennonite Historical Society," *ME* III:627.

72. *The Christian Exponent* ceased publication in 1928 due to financial difficulties.

73. For one example see Hershberger, *S.C. Yoder*, 10-12, 35-37.

74. H.S. Bender, "To the Youth of the Mennonite Church," *MQR* 1 (January 1927), verso Table of Contents.

75. See Guy F. Hershberger, "On the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday," interview by Leonard Gross, *MHB* 48 (January 1987): 6.

76. See Guy Hershberger's comments, *S.C. Yoder*, 14.

77. Kreider, "Discerning the Times," in *Kingdom*, 65-85.

78. Kreider, *Kingdom*, 69, commenting on the moderate pace adopted at Goshen College in the wake of the pre-closing turmoil quoted Robert Maynard Hutchings, who supposedly once said, "I would have made more rapid progress if I had proceeded more slowly."

79. Elizabeth Bender, "On the Writing of the 'Anabaptist Vision,'" 8.

80. S.C. Yoder, "Christianity and Education as Factors in Character Building," 1928 (Goshen, Indiana, typescript copy), H.S. Bender Collection, Hist. Mss. 1-278, Box 107, File 9b, AMC.

81. Fifty years later, English professor Ervin Beck in a 1978 "Prof's Podium" *Record* article gave eloquent voice to essentially the same philosophy of Christian education as Harold Bender had done, writing in support of the adage that in Christian education "you can Christianize everything that is not sin."

82. The poems Royer quoted had all appeared in *Christian Century* magazine and were subsequently collected in a book Royer read from in the chapel service. For the account of Royer's presentation see *Edward* (entry for January 16, 1936), 285. The text of "Goshen" by Edgar Frank is taken from the version appearing in *Record*, September 24, 1954.

83. Edna St. Vincent Millay, "Renaissance," in *Modern American Poetry, A Critical Anthology*, ed. Louis Untermeyer, 4th revised ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935), 635-640, 639-640.

84. Quoted in Gerald W. Schlabbach, "A New Wineskin for the Old Wines: A Changing Ministry, Harold S. Bender and a Mennonite Seminary" 1978, history seminar paper (Goshen College, photocopy), 24.

85. Paul Mininger earned a Masters in Religious Education from Eastern Baptist Seminary in 1936; in 1949 he received a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. J.C. Wenger received a Th.D. at the University of Zurich in 1938 and an M.A. from the University of Michigan in 1942.

86. On Gustav Enss see James C. Juhnke, "Mennonite Church Theological and Social Boundaries, 1920-1930," 18-24, 21-23. Harold Bender had vigorously defended Enss against conservative-fundamentalist attacks from the East at the time of the *MQR* articles, yet suppressed the last two of Enss' articles in a proposed four-part series. And, as Juhnke's article points out, the upshot of the Enss incident was that Bender reconciled with eastern critics while Enss and Barthianism were made "sacrificial goats. Not only did Enss leave Goshen College,

but the pages of (Old) Mennonite publications remained closed to explorations of Barthian neo-orthodox theological categories" (p. 22).

87. Abraham Hallman, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

88. Katherine Royer, interview with author, December 31, 1992.

89. Esther Steiner Meyer, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

90. Clara Hooley Hershberger, interview, February 20, 1992.

91. Milton Smith telegrams to Noah Oyer, Deans' Files, Noah Oyer, April 1927, AMC.

92. Some of these values have survived, of course, in the College Cabin and picnic shelter, Brunk's Cabin in Michigan, and more recently the development of Merry Lea Nature Center at Wolf Lake, Indiana. And, the professed sophistication of the contemporary student aside, college students have never stopped walking to the dam.

93. Information from Carl Kreider, January 17, 1994.

94. Tillie Engman Stoll, *Maple Leaf* (1925).

Chapter Six: Watch Us Grow

1. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 16, 1994. Ainlay recalled that President Ernest Miller's mention in several chapel services of the benefits of accreditation probably alerted students to the importance of the decision made in Chicago.

2. *Goshen News Democrat*, March 28, 1941.

3. Information from Carl Kreider, January 17, 1994.

4. Thelma Miller Groff, interview with author, August 5, 1992.

5. The residents of Coffman Hall, the college's men's dormitory, were free to continue reveling since unlike the women students of Kulp Hall, whose doors were locked and hall lights shut off at ten p.m. on normal weeknights, the men of Coffman observed no curfew.

6. *Record*, April 4, 1941; *Maple Leaf* (1941); *Goshen News Democrat*, March 28, 1941; Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 16, 1994.

7. For example, see *Record*, October 11, 1940.

8. Clara Hershberger, for example, served as College Church children's Sunday school superintendant from the time when Pastor Noah Oyer had asked her to take up the responsibility, 1925, until 1968—forty-three years.

9. Lois Winey, interview with author, February 11, 1992.

10. See Guy F. Hershberger, Introduction, *Edward*, xviii-xxii; Leonard Gross, "The Doctrinal Era of the Mennonite Church," 84-103.

11. Hershberger, Introduction, *Edward*, xix-xx; Nelson Springer, interview with author, May 8, 1993, recalled the occasion and impact the comments made by S.C. Yoder in Assembly Hall had on him during the General Conference special session in August 1944.

12. Bernhard Christensen, commencement address, Goshen College, June 1951, reprinted in *Maple Leaf* (1951).

13. Schlabach, *Gospel*, 137.

14. Mission colleague George J. Lapp, of course, had for one year, 1918-1919, filled the Goshen presidency in the wake of the Hartzler resignation, then returned to the field in India.

15. Thelma Miller Groff, interview with author, August 4, 1992.

16. The work in Near East relief in 1919 had also involved Ernest Miller and Goshen faculty members C.L. Graber and Silas Hertzler.

17. In 1920 Orie Miller had been accompanied from Constantinople to Russia by a Goshen College student, Clayton Kratz of Perkasio, Pennsylvania, who had taken time away from college to volunteer for relief service. Kratz vanished in the autumn of 1920 while he was in Halbstadt among a colony of Russian Mennonites, a contested area then falling to Bolshevik forces. Reportedly arrested by Bolshevik soldiers, Kratz was never heard from again nor successfully traced.

18. Given the occasions of fortieth and fiftieth year anniversaries of the program's beginnings, volumes have begun to appear that supplement Melvin Gingerich's major account, *Service for Peace* (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949); see Albert N. Keim and Grant M. Stoltzfus, *The Politics of Conscience: The Historic Peace Churches and America at War, 1917-1955* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1988); Albert N. Keim, *The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service* (Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1990); and a special October 1992 issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* devoted to Civilian Public Service.

19. Albert N. Keim, "CPS 'A Moral Equivalent to War,'" *Festival Quarterly* (Fall 1990): 9.

20. Melvin Gingerich, *MEI*: 610-611.

21. Umble, *Goshen College*, 172.

22. See Fred L. Kniss's comments on the influence of the CPS experience on Mennonite community as a whole, "Disquiet in the Land," 88ff.

23. Thelma Miller Groff recalled the good spirit among the Relief Training School group that summer. She also remembered the revelatory surprise she felt seeing Bethel College girls wearing "cut hair" and lipstick, and nonchalantly holding their boyfriends' hands in public; interview with author, August 5, 1992.

24. Information from Lois Gunden Clemens; see also *Record*, March 28, 1944; Mary Clemens Meyer, *Walking With Jesus* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1992), 65-68, and Rachel Shenk, "Mennonite Central Committee in Europe, 1940-1970," *MHB* 45 (April 1984): 1-5.

25. Dean Carl Kreider served as Acting President in Miller's absence.

26. John S. Oyer, interview with author, December 15, 1993.

27. Clarence Pickett quoted in Keim, "CPS, 'A Moral Equivalent to War,'" 8.

28. John Oyer, "Ethics, Aesthetics, and Mennonites," in *Why I Am A Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity*, ed. Harry Loewen (Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1988), 186-188.

29. S.A. Yoder, *Middle-East Sojourn* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1951), 10, and Ethel Oyer Yoder, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

30. Umble, *Goshen College*, 191.

31. "Goshen," a poem by Edgar Frank, had been introduced on campus at least as early as January 1936 (see above). President Miller quoted the poem on public campus occasions throughout the 1940s.

32. Atlee and Winifred Beechy, interview with author, July 9, 1993.

33. Bender delivered his presidential address, "The Anabaptist Vision," on December 28, 1943, before the annual meeting of the American Society of Church History; its text appeared in the March 1944 issue of the journal *Church History*, and was reprinted in *MQR* 18 (April 1944): 67-88. Guy Franklin Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944).

34. In 1942, the Bible School began offering a five-year course leading to the bachelor of theology (Th.B.). In 1946, the school, now the Goshen College Biblical Seminary, began offering a standard three-year post-graduate curriculum, a Bachelor of Divinity degree (B.D.). By 1953, due in part to declining enrollment and the standards required for seminary accreditation, the Th.B. course was dropped.

35. See Stephen C. Ainlay, "The 1920 Seminary Movement": 325-351. A careful treatment of the seminary's relationship to changes in Mennonite ministry can be found in Gerald W. Schlabach, "A New Wineskin For the Old Wines: A Changing Ministry, Harold S. Bender and a Mennonite Seminary," 1978, seminar paper (Goshen College, photocopy), MHL. Pertinent too is an essay by J. Lawrence Burkholder, "The Limits of Perfection: Autobiographical Reflections," in *The Limits of Perfection: A Conversation with J. Lawrence Burkholder*, ed. Rodney J. Sawatsky and Scott Holland (Waterloo, Ont.: The Institute of Anabaptist-Mennonite Studies, 1993): 1-54.

36. Account in *Record*, February 1, 1980, and information from Stanley Shenk.

37. Pauline Clemens Fisher, interview with author, October 25, 1993.

38. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 16, 1994.

39. Information from Carol Schertz Oyer, May 9, 1993.

40. Lois Yoder Hallman, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

41. Information from Carol Schertz Oyer, May 9, 1993.

42. "Conversations with Robert Friedmann," interview by Leonard Gross, *MQR* 48 (April 1974): 151-157.

43. Information from Carl Kreider, January 17, 1994.

44. Atlee Beechy, interview with author, July 8, 1993.

45. Pauline Clemens Fisher, interview with author, October 25, 1993.

46. Charles Ainlay, April 16, 1994, and John J. Fisher, October 25, 1993, interviews with author.

47. Lois Winey, February 11, 1992; Thelma Miller Groff, August 5, 1992; Mary Royer and Olive Wyse, December 31, 1992; interviews with author.

48. For the evening meal following faculty meeting, Ruth Miller always served the family an easily digestible supper of cornbread and salad. Thelma Miller Groff, interview with author, August 4, 1992.

49. [S.A. Yoder], "Hear Ye! Hear Ye!", invitation for March 12, [195-?], John Umble Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-46, Box 8, Folder 9, AMC.

50. Umble, *Goshen College*, 189, recorded that the first faculty retreat occurred in 1939-1940, Yoder's final year as president, at Camp Mack near Goshen; subsequent retreats, according to Umble, took place at Little Eden Camp.

51. See Umble, *Goshen College*, 190.

52. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 16, 1994.

53. For a detailed survey of the college's march toward accreditation throughout the 1930s, see Umble, *Goshen College*, 141-146.

54. Information on NCA developments at Goshen College from Carl Krieder, January 17, 1994. Harold Bender, Silas Hertzler, and Paul Erb represented Goshen at the first four NCA workshops. In 1974, the NCA named Carl Kreider a lifetime honorary member of its organization.

55. Nelson Springer, interview with author, May 8, 1993.

56. Thelma Miller Groff, interview with author, August 5, 1992.

57. Nelson Springer, interview with author, May 8, 1993; article by Dorothy Snapp (McCammon), *Record*, November 7, 1941.
58. *Edward* (entry for March 8, 1937), 328.
59. Umble, *Goshen College*, 158.
60. See Erb, *Orie O. Miller*, 116-117; Paul Mininger, interviews with author, March 10, 1992, and July 1, 1993.
61. A small book, *Elkhart Institute Memorial* (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, 1904), had been published to commemorate the school superseded by Goshen College.
62. S.A. Yoder served as *Maple Leaf* sponsor in 1951 and may have contributed the anonymous Alumni Association tribute at the end of the yearbook.
63. *Record*, September 29, 1972 and December 13, 1974.

Chapter Seven: Coming of Age

1. See J. Lawrence Burkholder, *The Problem of Social Responsibility From The Perspective of the Mennonite Church* (Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989; originally appearing as a 1958 Th.D. dissertation from Princeton Theological Seminary); and Rodney J. Sawatsky and Scott Holland, eds., *The Limits of Perfection: A Conversation with J. Lawrence Burkholder*.
2. In the case of at least three members of the original *Concern* group, both parents had attended the Old Goshen College: David Shank (Charles and Chrissie Yoder Shank), John W. Miller (Orie O. and Elta Wolf Miller), and John Howard Yoder (Howard C. and Ethel Good Yoder. Albert J. Meyer (Jacob C. and Esther Steiner Meyer) contributed to later issues of the periodical *Concern*.
3. See J. Lawrence Burkholder, "Concern Pamphlets Movement," ME V: 179, which offers a compact history of the movement. See also Paul Toews, "The Concern Movement: Its Origins and Early History," *The Conrad Grebel Review* 8 (Spring 1990): 123-124.
4. President Mininger, for instance, in the mid-1950s called a conference devoted specifically to the subject of Christianity and the liberal arts. Faculty made the relationship an ongoing point of discussion.
5. Paul Mininger, "Culture for Service" (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, 1954), 10.
6. Mininger, "Culture for Service," 15.
7. Information on the history of the Goshen College orchestra courtesy of Professor Lon Sherer, February 22, 1994.
8. The cell-like individual carrels of the new Good Library were heralded as a great improvement in 1967. Memorial Library users recalled that when Dean Harold S. Bender read magazines in the Reading Room, he took personal responsibility for maintaining quiet there. Information from Carl Kreider, January 17, 1994.
9. [Guy F. Hershberger], "On a spot in Indiana. . .," [1954-?], Guy F. Hershberger Papers, Hist. Mss. 1-171, AMC. I am indebted to Leonard Gross who called Hershberger's rewriting of the College Song to my attention.
10. *Record*, October 12, 1956.
11. Information from Carl Kreider and Roy Umble, January 17, 1994.
12. Karl and Christine Massanari, interview with author, July 14, 1993.

13. Fliederhof, Professor Alta Schrock's picturesque home (for years now the residence of Harold and Elizabeth Bauman), was converted from what had been the barn of the Christian J. and Agnes Gunden farm. In 1930 the Gunden family gave up a successful farming operation in Flanagan, Illinois, with a view to moving to Goshen and educating their nine children at Goshen College, a goal they accomplished. C.J. Gunden settled on farmland in the area later occupied by Goshen General Hospital and conducted an extensive truck farming business. Three of the Gunden children, Lois, Ralph, and Ruth, went on to serve as Goshen faculty members.

14. Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 5, 1993.

15. According to the *Record*, November 11, 1960, of the roughly 50 percent of the faculty polled, men favored Nixon to Kennedy 53-47 percent, and women favored Nixon 58-25 percent. See also *Record*, October 28, 1980.

16. See Hershberger, S.C. Yoder, 15: "In Anabaptism 'the church against the world' is of the essence. Since every essence must have its outward manifestation, however, there is always the question: What shall the manifestation be?"

17. The prospect of this new avenue for national service, with no church strings attached, did raise the question of whether young Mennonites would remain committed to their denomination's MCC and VS. See *Record*, March 10, 1961; *Maple Leaf* (1961).

18. Willard Smith, December 28, 1992, and Pauline Clemens Fisher, October 25, 1993, interviews with author.

19. Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 1, 1993.

20. J. Lawrence Burkholder, *The Limits of Perfection*, 21-25, 35-36.

21. For two highly absorbing analyses of these differences as they pertained to Burkholder and Goshen College, see in *The Limits of Perfection* J. Lawrence Burkholder, 1-54, especially 21-25, 35-36, and Ted Koontz, "Goshen College not China: Challenges to Mennonite Ethics," 110-114.

22. Two similar publications had appeared earlier: *Inkunabulae* in 1959 and *Matrix* in 1960.

23. *Maple Leaf* (1963). This yearbook interspersed photograph portraits of campus briefcases throughout its copy, some artfully shot to reinforce the idea of individual detail.

24. Allen Hershberger in *Maple Leaf* (1963).

25. Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 7, 1993.

26. The author is indebted to Professor John J. Fisher for interviewing faculty about the campus's reaction to the Kennedy assassination.

27. Atlee Beechy, interview with author, July 12, 1993.

28. The parents of students graduating after 1970 were more likely to have been involved in World War II CPS work.

29. Robert Friedmann, "The Meaning of the Life and Work of H.S. Bender: A Symposium," *MQR* 38 (April 1964): 185.

30. Though there was never a large number of Goshen College students involved in the exchange program with Morehouse and Tougaloo Colleges, the few exchanges that did take place made a deep impression.

31. See Sam Steiner, "Confessions of a Lapsed Radical," *MHB* 52 (October 1991): 7, and Ron Mininger, *Record*, April 9, 1965, for an indication of the importance for its participants of the 1965 Alabama trip.

32. J. Daniel Hess, interview with author, July 8, 1993.

33. Frank Hartzler organized the message to John Updike; *Record*, April 9, 1965.

34. Atlee Beechy, "The Church in Academia," talk given September 1, 1968, at Goshen College Faculty Retreat, photocopy in my possession courtesy of Atlee Beechy.

35. *Record*, May 1, 1964, and Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 7, 1993.

36. Information from Rebecca Horst, July 14, 1993; J. Lawrence Burkholder, "The Goods' Generosity Recalled," *Record*, November 20, 1992.

37. *Record*, February 11, 1966. One student who felt happy about the Goods' gift during the new library's construction was inspired to write on an inner wall, in giant letters, "With a name like Smucker's, it has to be Good." The slogan was covered by the library's brick facing, but a photograph of it sent to Harold and Wilma Good was warmly received.

38. Orie B. Gerig to J.S. Hartzler, October 1918, quoted in Lehman, *Oak Grove*, 209 (original letter in AMC).

39. Goshen students clung to the name Eyer's, despite the restaurant's official change to the name A.J. Restaurant. The restaurant was later demolished.

40. Helpful to me in providing a context for the creation and aftermath of the newspaper have been interviews with Paul Mininger, July 1, 1993, and Sam Steiner, October 15, 1993. "Comments on being suspended from Goshen College in 1967," two documents on file at the MHL written by James S. Wenger and Sam Steiner in the aftermath of the incident illuminate two students' points of view. Professor J. Daniel Hess, "1968 . . . and later," a speech delivered October 2, 1993, at the twenty-fifth reunion of the Goshen College Class of 1968, recalls the immediate context of a particular year, 1967-1968, at Goshen College, as well as offering a historical perspective; copy of speech in my possession courtesy of J. Daniel Hess.

41. *The Menno-Pause I*, [September 29, 1967].

42. *The Menno-Pause 2*, [October 9, 1967].

43. Richard Martin, interview with author, June 28, 1993.

44. Richard Martin, interview with author, June 28, 1993.

45. Atlee Beechy, interview with author, July 12, 1993.

46. In fact, though short-lived as a publication, *Menno-Pause* has enjoyed an expansive mythic life. Its memory is observed in the occasional foolery of an April Fool's *Record*, in the recent, somewhat regular alternative campus paper *The Mendicant* (note homage to its 1967 predecessor in the title), and, most grandly, in the realm of alumni legend.

47. Henry D. Weaver, interview with author, April 2, 1994.

48. Faculty leaders for the pilot SST units were Marion and Frances Wenger (Haiti), Virgil and Susan Miller of Bluffton College (Colombia), and Roy and Ferne Umble (Barbados). These initial units had been made available to students from Goshen and Bluffton Colleges. Bluffton Dean Mark Houshower and Goshen Dean Carl Kreider visited all three units and stopped in Costa Rica, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Nicaragua to evaluate their suitability for future units. The Bluffton faculty did not vote to begin an SST program.

49. Quotations, in order given, from Dave Rosenberger, Ken Gingerich, Brad Boyd, and Joan Gerig, *Record*, October 6, 1967.

50. Paul Mininger, July 5, 1993, and Henry Weaver, April 2, 1994, interviews with author.

51. Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 7, 1993, and John H. Mosemann Jr., "Facts concerning the April 5 'Take-Over' at College Church," April 10, 1970, copy of report courtesy of Leonard Gross, AMC.

52. Atlee Beechy, "Comments on the Goshen College Student Body," June 1970; copy in my possession courtesy of Atlee Beechy.

Chapter Eight: Jogging and Flying

1. During the 1970s, the athletic track actually became an important frontier in the improvement of college and community relations. Some of the most regular joggers on the college track, as it happened, such as the Realtor Myrl Nofziger, or the businessman John Abshire Jr., were Goshen city residents who had discovered in the campus a congenial place to exercise.

2. For an independent portrait of Burkholder as pilot, see Julia Kasdorf's dedicatory poem, "Flying Lesson," in *The Limits of Perfection*, ix.

3. The administration of Harvard University recognized that its Divinity School was producing very few ministers of churches. J. Lawrence Burkholder recommended that they establish a department of the church, and he was asked to initiate it. Information from Carl Kreider, January 17, 1994.

4. "Seeking a Climate of Authenticity," *The Burkholder Years, 1971-1984* (Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, [1984]), 3.

5. Paul Mininger, interview with author, July 5, 1993.

6. John A. Lapp, interview with author, April 5, 1994.

7. Daniel E. Kauffman, interview with author, April 25, 1994. After researching numerous possible campaign approaches and consulting fundraising advisors, Kauffman remained dissatisfied with methods that seemed to conflict with "the Mennonite way." During a visit to nearby Notre Dame University, however, he discovered with excitement that a recent campaign the Catholic university had conducted would provide a fitting model for Goshen College's adaptation.

8. Burkholder's sister, Evelyn Kreider, had conceived the idea to "Plant a tree for JLB!" It met the enthusiastic approval of the inaugural planning committee. J. Daniel Hess, interview with author, July 8, 1993.

9. Mary K. Oyer, interview with author, December 27, 1993.

10. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 15, 1994.

11. Harriet Burkholder, interview with author, February 13, 1992.

12. Charles Ainlay, interview with author, April 15, 1994.

13. *Burkholder Years*, 2.

14. J. Daniel Hess, "1968 . . . and beyond," 1993.

15. John J. Fisher Jr., Galway, Republic of Ireland, to anonymous correspondent, quoted in *Record*, May 11, 1973.

16. Robert S. Kreider's comment cited in *Kingdom*, 245.

17. Guy F. Hershberger, "Our Citizenship is in Heaven," *Kingdom*, 280-282.

18. Teachable moments of the mid-1970s as conceived by Jack Dueck, John J. Fisher Jr., and John S. Oyer, respectively.

19. *Record*, November 24, 1972: "Perhaps the person who was most affected [by Dueck's staged arrest] was Professor John Ingold who, having just approached the scene, stood rooted to the spot in mental anguish over the question of whether to come to Dueck's aid or to 'pass by on the other side.'"

20. In the winter trimester of 1974, seventy-four students were enrolled in ceramics classes.

21. At the time of Oyer's earliest African experience, she was also completing work as executive secretary of the Joint Hymnal Committee preparing the 1969 *Mennonite Hymnal*. Mary K. Oyer, interview with author, December 27, 1993.

22. *Maple Leaf* (1973). Neither fresco nor plywood mural is visible on campus today, although a small-scale study for the fresco hangs in Good Library.

23. John S. Oyer, interview with author, October 11, 1993.

24. Bob Johnson quoted in *Record*, December 10, 1982; information from Stephen C. Ainlay, July 1992.

25. J. Daniel Hess, interview with author, July 8, 1993.

26. William F. Miller, interview with author, September 4, 1993.

27. See Theron Schlabach's comments, *Record*, March 25, 1971.

28. Chapel series, "Am I Somebody?" presented by Harold Bauman, early 1974.

29. In 1976, the Human Sexuality class became a two-credit-hour seminar; in 1977, it became part of the curriculum for a major in family life; in 1980 it was established as a three-hour course.

30. J.R. Burkholder comments made at Faculty Retreat, *Record*, September 13, 1974.

31. Don Metzler, *Record*, September 21, 1973.

32. Sam Yoder, *Record*, May 11, 1973; also Theron Schlabach, interview with author, October 15, 1993.

33. See a probing editorial by Gerald Schlabach and Joseph Liechty, *Record*, October 27, 1978.

34. J. Howard Kauffman and Leland Harder, *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1975).

35. Robert S. Kreider, "Series Introduction," *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 9.

36. Burkholder had worn the collarless coat while a member of the college faculty in the 1950s. President Noah Byers had dressed the part of a distinguished American college president until around 1910, when on certain occasions he adopted the coat to satisfy demands by the local conference that he do so.

37. Weldon Pries quoted in *Record*, May 5, 1978.

38. Gerald Schlabach, *Record*, November 3, 1978; see also Robert Charles's article on the symbolism of earlier theater proposals, *Record*, March 23, 1973.

39. E. Bartlett Giamatti, president of Yale University, proposed the phrase "a free and ordered space" as the description of an ideal academic community and gave the title to a collection of essays on higher education.

40. Sylvia Dyson, Goshen's Director of Cross-Cultural Relations, and J.D. Stahl, *Record*, April 6, 1979.

41. J. Lawrence Burkholder, "Toward a New Agenda on Alcohol," *GH* 72 (November 6, 1979): 865-869, and *Record*, November 6, 1981.

42. The *Record* offered extensive coverage of events related to Schmucker's trial with articles in ten of the twelve issues published during the fall term.

43. For three student feature articles on Professor Mary Eleanor Bender see *Record*: Rebecca S. Oyer (Meyers), March 23, 1973; Carla Roth, October 8, 1976; and Susan Kennel (Harrison), October 12, 1984.

Chapter Nine: Faith Beckons Us Forward

1. J. Lawrence Burkholder, "Annual Report of the President to the MBE," Goshen College, September 1984, 3-4, copy of report courtesy the Office of the President, Goshen College.

2. Quoted in Victor Stoltzfus, *Church-Affiliated Higher Education: Exploratory Case Studies of Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Colleges* (Goshen, Ind.: Pinchpenny Press, 1992), 120.

3. These officers' dates of service follow: Dean Willard Martin 1984-1988; Interim Dean John Nyce 1988-1989, 1994-; Dean John Eby 1989-1994. In January 1985, Provost John A. Lapp became Executive Secretary of Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania; Alice Roth took office as Vice President for Administrative Affairs on January 1, 1985; William Zuercher succeeded Business Manager J. Robert Kreider and served 1985-1989. Mardene Kelley was appointed Business Manager in early 1989.

4. Earlier in the year, Goshen had appeared among a compilation of *Best Buys in College Education*, a guide assembled by *New York Times* editor Edward Fiske. Then, in a *U.S. News* cover story of October 26, 1987, Goshen College ranked twelfth among the nation's best colleges, identified as a college "where values are lived as well as taught." *Changing Times* magazine in March 1988 listed Goshen among forty-two high quality, low-cost private colleges, illustrating its article with a photograph depicting SST students on location.

5. Compare the wedding photographs of Mennonite couples in the 1890s and the 1930s as a reminder that Mennonite acculturation, in any case, has not progressed in a straight line.

6. One supposes that the costumed Halloween revelers of 1930, whose photographs so provoked the Mennonite Board of Education, would also have found irony in the college selecting a Halloween costume party as the occasion of its first official dance.

7. Victor Stoltzfus, *Church-Affiliated Higher Education*, 116.

8. Harold Good had died at age ninety-two on November 13, 1992, and was preceded in death by Wilma Good who died at age seventy-nine on October 21, 1978. The 1993 gift came in the form of stock in the the Ohio fruit preserves manufacturing company begun by Wilma Good's father, J.M. Smucker—the man who in 1902 had supplied apple butter to the tables of the Elkhart Institute.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This abbreviated bibliography offers a general overview of the major sources consulted in writing this book. The preceding section of endnotes supplies the fullest, most detailed documentation of the sources consulted and, as appropriate, their location.

Steve Nolt's "Inventory of Source Materials on Goshen College" (Goshen, Ind., 1990, typescript) provides a comprehensive list of sources pertinent to Goshen College available in two important collections on the campus of Goshen College. As such, anyone searching for material regarding the college would do well to start by consulting this inventory.

Archival Sources

For non-book primary sources, the Archives of the Mennonite Church (AMC) is the major repository. It contains the papers of Goshen College administrators and most student organizations. The AMC also houses the records of institutions of the (Old) Mennonite Church significant to the history of Goshen College, particularly those of the Mennonite Board of Education and the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference. In addition to institutional papers, the AMC has numerous collections of the correspondence, personal papers, diaries, photograph collections, and unpublished manuscripts of individuals who have helped create Goshen's history. Among the collections used in preparing this volume were various subgroups of the Mennonite Board of Education records (Record Class V) and personal collections in the Historical Manuscripts Class, including H.S. Bender (1-278), J.S. Coffman (1-19), J.E. Hartzler (1-62), Guy F. Hershberger (1-171), Silas Hertzler (1-197), Lester and Charity (Steiner) Hostetler (1-335), J.C. Meyer (1-44), Orie O. Miller (1-45), M.S. Steiner (1-33), Jacob Swartzentruber (tape collection, 6-57), John S. Umble (1-46), and S.C. Yoder (1-162). The AMC has effective finding aids for most of these collections. *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, a periodical produced by AMC staff, has helpful articles drawing on parts of the AMC collections, including edited transcriptions of important interviews done by Leonard Gross, with Elizabeth Horsch Bender and others. I was able to examine a number of important documents still in private hands, notably the papers of A.E. Kreider (through the courtesy of his son, Robert).

Periodicals and Other Printed Sources

The Mennonite Historical Library (MHL) contains books, some manuscripts (such as selected student term papers), photographs, and artifacts important to the history of Goshen College. The MHL's special file of ephemeral publications related to public programs, faculty retreats, and stu-

dent performances held on the campuses of the Elkhart Institute and Goshen College provides a valuable record of campus life.

In addition to many useful books, the MHL has a wide collection of periodicals relevant to the present study of Goshen College. Central among these are the student newspapers, the *Record* (1903ff.) and its Elkhart predecessor, the *The Institute Monthly* (1898-1903), and the annual publications, the *Reflector* (1904-1908) and *Maple Leaf* (1915ff.). The MHL also preserves copies of the *Goshen College Alumni Newsletter* and the *Goshen College Bulletin*. A scholarly journal published at Goshen by the Mennonite Historical Society, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1927ff.), has itself figured into Goshen history as well as commented on it. The MHL also has complete or nearly-complete files of other Goshen College-related publications such as *foolscap* (1962-1968) and *Menno-Pause* (1967). Periodical publications containing material I found helpful in researching the history of the Elkhart Institute and Goshen College are *Herald of Truth* (1864-1908) and *Young People's Paper* (1894-1906), issued by John F. Funk's Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana, and from the Mennonite Publishing House of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, *Gospel Witness* (1905-1908), *Gospel Herald* (1908ff.) and *Christian Monitor* (1909-1953). An independent Mennonite publication, *The Christian Exponent* (1924-1928), offers the perspective of Goshen alumni and former faculty in the wake of the colleges one-year closing, 1923-1924. *Mennonite Life* (1946ff.), a quarterly published by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, has also supplied several helpful articles. In a number of cases, the AMC and MHL have made available scholarly dissertations treating Mennonite educational subjects. For news sources related to events in the Goshen, Indiana, community, I have consulted copies of the *Goshen News-Times*, the *Goshen Daily Democrat*, and the *Goshen News*, newspapers on microfilm available through the courtesy of the research staff of the Goshen Public Library.

Interviews

The following individuals graciously supplied information in interviews with the author:

Charles Ainlay
 Stephen C. Ainlay
 Atlee Beechy
 Winifred Nelson Beechy
 Harriet Lapp Burkholder
 J. Lawrence Burkholder
 Lois Gunden Clemens
 Mary Kaufmann Clemens
 John J. Fisher Jr.
 Pauline Clemens Fisher

Verna Roth Gingerich
 Minnie Swartzendruber Graber
 Thelma Miller Groff
 Leonard Gross
 Abraham Hallman
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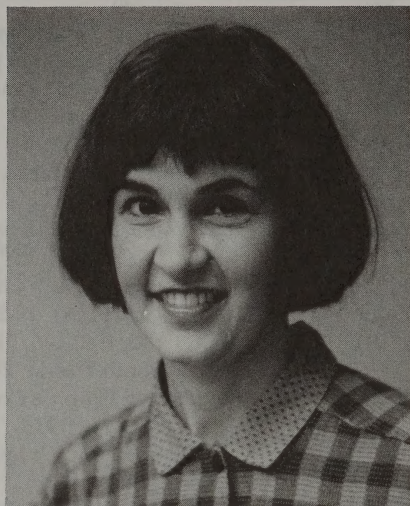
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Susan Fisher Miller spent many childhood hours on the campus of Goshen College where her father, John J. Fisher, Jr. and other members of her extended family served as faculty members. She herself graduated from Goshen College in 1980 with a B.A. degree in English and French. In 1986, Miller received a Ph.D. in English from Northwestern University with a doctoral thesis on the poet W.B. Yeats's tower home at Ballylee, a historic property in the west of Ireland which inspired some of Yeats's greatest verse. Miller has taught English at Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, and at North Park College in Chicago. In 1985-1986, she took particular satisfaction from the opportunity to teach literature and expository writing at Goshen College among her own former professors in the English department.

Susan Fisher Miller currently resides in Evanston, Illinois, where she is a member of the Evanston Mennonite Church. She and her husband, Lee Miller (GC 1980), are the parents of three sons, Peter, Christopher, and John William.

